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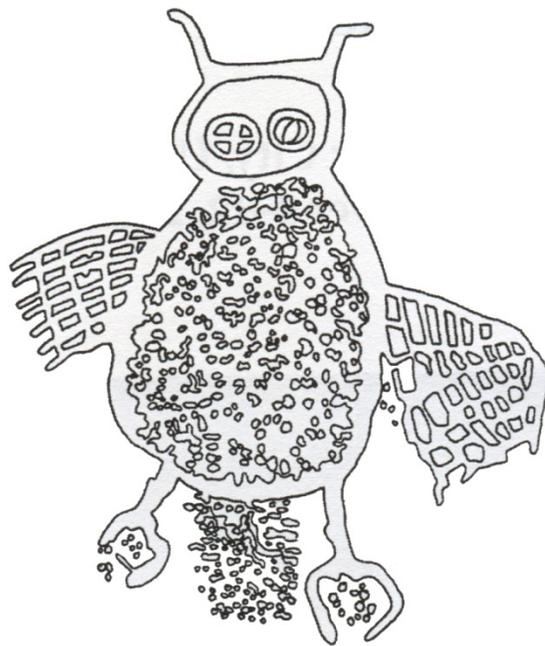
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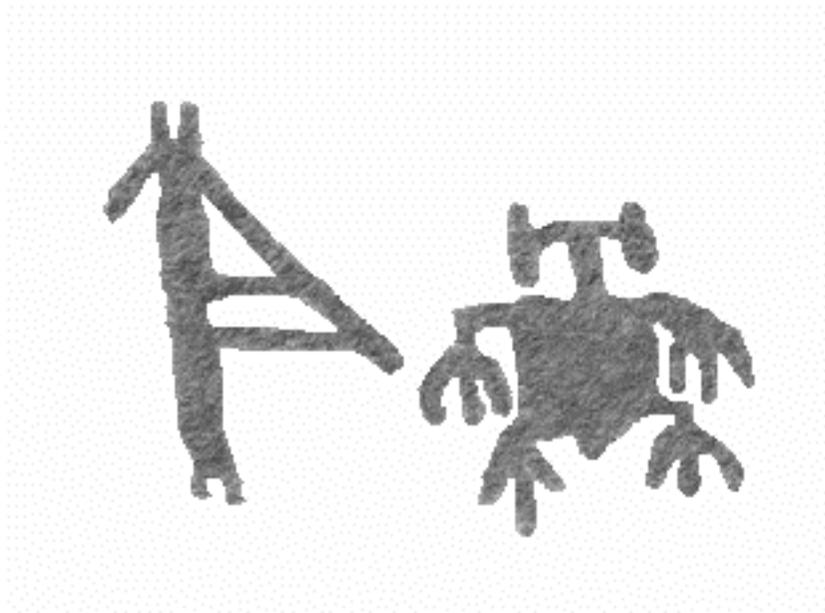
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Joe Brame

YUCCAS, BUTTERFLIES, AND FLUTE PLAYERS: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SAN JUAN BASKETMAKER ROCK ART IN THE FLOWER WORLD IMAGE COMPLEX

The “Flower World” is the name of a complex of verbal and visual imagery that may have been used by ancient and historical Puebloan peoples to portray their daily lives and their place in the cosmos. For fifteen years researchers have identified its characteristic elements and discussed its importance for understanding the Puebloan people. The results have been greater understanding of its possible Mayan and Aztec antecedents and recognition of its influence upon such Puebloan cultural productions as songs, ceremonies, pottery, kiva murals, and rock art (Hays-Gilpin and Hill 2000; Hays-Hays-Gilpin and Hill 1999; Hays-Gilpin, Newsome, et.al. 2010; Hill 1992; Robins and Hays-Gilpin 2000; Taube 2010; 2004).

At first glance the complex depicts such common and familiar images of life and fertility as flowers and plants, birds and butterflies, and clouds, mist and rainbows. On a deeper level, however, the Flower World refers to the two-tiered structure of the universe, with levels both below and above ground. Below the ground a mound of earth with flowers on stalks growing out of it represents both the font of life and the destination of the dead. Above ground is a scene of fecundity and beauty beneath an overarching sky (Hays-Gilpin and Hill 2000: 411,421-422; Hays-Gilpin and Hill 1999: 2-3, 18; Hays-Gilpin, Newsome, et.al. 2010: 122, 126-127, 131; Taube 2010:111; 2004: 69, 71, 79-91). Among Puebloan peoples, the Zuni explicitly refer to these two cosmic levels. Matilda Stevenson states that in the Zuni language, “Te'hula refers to underworlds. Uhl'onanně is the term for the outer world, or this world” (1904: 25 Footnote 1).

Although there are two cosmic levels in the Flower World, they are not perceived by Puebloans as separate in space or time, but instead as interactive and simultaneous (Hill, 1992: 120). For example, M. Jane Young describes how Zuni people refer to their origin myths. “Although they may introduce a myth as having occurred a ‘long time ago’ or ‘in the beginning,’ they do not envision the events of the myth as over and done with, situated at a single point in a linear flow of time; instead, they perceive them as ever-present, informing the here and now” (1988:117; see also Hill 1992: 120 who refers to a “timeless spirit land” depicted in songs accompanying Puebloan origin myths). Moreover, according to Jane H. Hill the Flower World may be designated as co'ya or tso' ya, a Zuni term referring to an element of nature that is perpetually in motion. Like the shimmering of hummingbird feathers or the shining of the rainbow, it is variegated, multicolored, changeable and beautiful (Hill 1992:117-119; D.Tedlock 2000:165).

Research on images of the Flower World still continues, perhaps because it is a relatively new perspective but also because it does not present a full-blown ideology. Kelley Hays-Gilpin and Jane H. Hill describe it as a “part ideology” or a set of symbolic tools that does not articulate a complete world view but contains elements shared over time and place (1999:16). Among Anasazi people evidence of this imagery appears in material artifacts possibly going back to 1 A.D. Nonetheless, the central images of flowers, birds, butterflies and rainbows seldom appear together in one assemblage before the fourteenth century, and

then primarily in the form of Hopi kiva murals (Hays-Gilpin and Hill 1999: 15-16).

Such fragmentation obviously poses challenges for research. Yet it allows the Flower World image complex to exist alongside and within other complexes and other forms of representation. Interestingly, Flower World imagery is associated not only with life and fecundity, but with symbols of war, conflict, and the hunt for game (Farmer 1997: 403, 411-412; Hays-Gilpin, Newsome, et.al. 2010:131-32; Schaafsma 2000:154-157; Wright 2004:58, from Parsons 1929:148-49). The complex also allows for variation in the forms and themes of mythic discourse, as in Keres Yellow Women narratives (Boas 1928:92-130) or Yaqui deer songs (Boas 1928:92-130; Hill 1992:122-23; 128; 136).

My paper claims that certain images in Basketmaker II San Juan Anthropomorphic Style rock art specific to the upper San Juan River area represent an early regional variant of the Flower World image complex. Admittedly, this rock art style is considerably distanced from the Pueblos by centuries of time and hundreds of miles of space. Justifying a relationship between San Juan rock art and the Flower World complex therefore requires an overview of the archeological and cultural context of both the upper San Juan and the Pueblo regions. This overview pays particular attention to possible cultural continuities between the San Juan Basketmaker and the Puebloan peoples that evoke the imagery of the Flower World and its fundamental cosmic structure.

The Archaeohistorical Context: From the San Juan River Basin to the Pueblo Rio Grande

The rise and fall of the Anasazi realm of cultural influence is well established in the archaeological literature. Even so, there exists a difference of up to 100 years between eastern (current-day New Mexico) and western

(current-day Arizona) chronologies. On one hand David Stuart focusing on sites in present-day New Mexico dates the beginning of the Basketmaker II period at 400 A.D. (2000: 40). On the other hand Jefferson Reid and Stephanie Whittlesey, working in what is present-day Arizona, date the beginning of Basketmaker II at 500 A.D. (1997:183). This disparity in dating might correspond with two different origins for eastern and western Anasazi peoples (see brief summaries of this position in Matson 1994: 219-221 and Webster and Hays-Gilpin 1994: 319). Yet the most exemplary sites are dated around 500 A.D. (Matson 1994: 232; Plog 2008: 56-62). As a result, a broad consensus exists concerning the time span of Anasazi culture from late Basketmaker II times (400 or 500 A.D.) to the depopulation of the Anasazi region in 1300 A.D. (Cordell 1997: 195-197).¹

Based upon this consensus it is possible to construct an outline of Anasazi archeohistory that places San Juan Basketmaker rock art in the flow of time. From approximately 500 to 700 A.D. late Basketmaker II through Basketmaker III culture dominated the Four Corners area. Then a population explosion in the northern and middle San Juan River Basin, including Southeastern Utah and the Mesa Verde area, occurred from 700 to 900 A.D. Afterwards various climactic, economic and cultural factors may have led to the migration of significant numbers of northern and middle San Juan Basin residents to Chaco Canyon and its outlying population centers. The subsequent growth and florescence of the Chaco regional system followed between 900-1180 A.D., followed by the sudden collapse of Chaco itself. This period has come to be known, in a phrase originated by Cynthia Irwin-Williams and adopted by Linda S. Cordell, as the "Chaco Phenomenon" (Cordell 1997: 305-306; Lekson 2009: 98, 103, 122-133; Plog 2008: 63, 105; Reid and Wittlesley 1997: 167, 183,186; Stuart 2000: 40, 55, 65-106, 207 Footnote 2).

Despite the suddenness implied by the collapse of Chaco, the decline of its widespread system of outliers may have happened piecemeal. In particular, some peoples who had been living in relatively smaller population centers in present-day central Arizona and New Mexico returned northward to re-inhabit the northern and middle San Juan River region. Among them, Anasazi people from the Kayenta region of northeast Arizona who were relatively unaffected by Chacoan cultural influences appear to have moved into the upper and middle San Juan River Valley by 1050 A.D. (Dean 2010: 337; Lyneis 1995:201).

Around a century later, the final demise of Chaco in 1180 A.D. set the stage for additional Anasazi peoples to move north into the San Juan River Valley. This concentration of population coincided with a short but brilliant revival of culture in the geographical area known to us as the Four Corners. From 1150-1260 A.D. spectacular cliff dwellings such as the ones at Mesa Verde were swiftly built, and just as swiftly abandoned. By 1300 the last inhabitants of the Chacoan-based system of outliers as well as the short-lived cliff-dwelling sites left their homes for good (Cordell 1997: 194-195; 368, 374; Lekson 2009: 160, 162-164, 243; Plog 2008: 126-134, 154; Reid and Wittlesley 1997: 167, 183,186,190-198; Stuart 2000: 131, 142).

The people, though, didn't just disappear. The "San Juan hypothesis" (Lekson 2009: 51-55) posits a movement of people from the middle San Juan River Basin to the pueblos of the Rio Grande in New Mexico at or around 1300 A.D. (Cordell 1997: 405-407; Plog 2008: 154-156; Reid and Whittlesley 1997:198; Stuart 2000: 147-150). Stephen Lekson, Curtis P. Nepstad-Thornberry, et.al. state: "It is generally accepted that many Four Corners migrants joined existing Pueblo groups along the Rio Grande—at Laguna, Acoma, Zuni, and Hopi" (2002:94). Recently, Scott Ortman has argued that some Mesa Verde groups after 1250 A.D. brought the Tewa language with them and

settled in Puebloan villages, much like current-day San Juan and Tesuque Pueblos where Tewa is still spoken (2012:118,124).

Although the details are still being debated, the larger picture of the migration of Anasazi peoples out of the northern Four Corners area to the south, the southeast and the southwest is accepted by scholars and determined to be generally clear and confirmed by recent research (Cameron 2010: 353-356). Moreover, elements of Anasazi culture appear to have survived the vicissitudes of history to the very end. Jeffrey Dean writes, "Both [Mesa Verde and Kayenta peoples of the late thirteenth century] participated (differentially) in the same basic Anasazi cultural tradition that evolved on the southern Colorado Plateau after the adoption of agriculture at the end of the Archaic period" (2010: 332).

Anasazi Migration Paths: Roads East and West

Although the movement of the Anasazi people southward after 1300 A.D. is generally accepted, the details of the paths they took are localized and complex. Two general pathways can be identified. The more well-known route leads from the Mesa Verde area into the valley of the Rio Grande and the area established by the eastern Puebloan peoples of present-day New Mexico. The lesser-known route leads from the upper San Juan River Valley southward into present-day northern and central Arizona, near where the Hopi and Zuni pueblos are located. Recent research has indicated that both pathways extended much further to the south than heretofore expected, and both pass by what was to become the Zuni region of cultural influence.

The Mesa Verde-Rio Grande Pueblo route in northeastern New Mexico has received the most attention. In her 1964 dissertation, Emma Lou Davis traced a group of San Juan traits on a trail from Mesa Verde to Chaco Canyon, east-southeast along the Chakra Mesa, and

down into the eastern Puerco River drainage. From there, one fork went east to Jemez; the other went south into Laguna and Acoma, both Keresan-speaking pueblos near Zuni (Varien 2010:28). More recent excavation has indicated an Anasazi incursion well to the south of the pueblos in the region now known as central-southern New Mexico. Ruins at Pinnacle Point, southeast of Zuni in upper Rio Alamosa Canyon, contain a significant percentage of McElmo/Mesa Verde as well as some Zuni-styled pottery (Lekson, Nepstad-Thornberry et. al, 2002: 87).

Lesser-known routes, however, linked Anasazi population centers in present-day southeastern Utah to the western pueblos of Hopi and Zuni. These routes lay along the western side of the Chuska Mountains as far as what is now east central and southeastern Arizona. The northern terminus of one route may have been near the boundary between eastern Mesa Verde and western Kayenta Anasazi peoples in the northern San Juan River region. These two groups interacted frequently in current-day southeastern Utah by 1150 A.D., if not before (Dean 2010:337; Lyneis 1995:201). Moreover, during the period from 1150 to 1250 A.D., some Anasazi originally from Kayenta appear to have moved out of locations in the northern San Juan River area and Chinle Wash and headed in a southerly direction. During their migrations they abandoned their characteristically small, evenly dispersed sites and congregated in larger, far-flung population centers. Still, they continued to travel and trade across the increasingly large gaps between locales that extended from the Hopi highlands to southern Arizona (Dean 2010:335-341).

Many of these migrants joined related Tusayan communities near Hopi, or settled to the southwest and south at such clearly Anasazi-influenced incursion sites as Grasshopper Pueblo north of the Mogollon Rim (1300-1400 A.D.). From there they may have moved along the edge of the rim toward Point of Pines near Safford Valley, north and east of present-day

Tucson (Dean 2010:340-341; Reid and Wittlesey 1997:151-165, 198-199; Wilcox, Gregory et. al. 2007: 182). Abundant evidence of Kayenta Anasazi architectural and pottery styles exist in Safford Valley at the Goat Hill site, and in the San Pedro Valley at the Reeve and Davis sites (Dean, 2010:340-341; 2002: 130,132,133,157; Lekson 2009: 311-312 Footnote 105).

Other Anasazi peoples may have taken a second route, one that runs more directly north to south. Jeffrey Dean has sketched a possible pathway moving southward from the upper San Juan River region, crossing at the easy ford of the San Juan at the Chinle River, skirting the edges of Chinle Wash, and linking such established settlements as Poncho House in Chinle Valley and Canyon de Chelly. Such a route implied interaction between the Anasazi people moving southward after the collapse of the culture of the cliff dwellers and the few remaining residents of the Kayenta area (Dean 2002: 138-140). If extended to the Safford Valley or beyond, the route may have passed near the large, well-defined settlements at the southern end of the Chuska Mountains that are now included within Zuni territory (see Cameron 2006: 144 Figure 18.5 for a map of possible routes; also Ferguson and Hart 1985: 26; Map 9).

Regardless of increasing distances between population centers from 1150-1300 A.D., various peoples continued to travel and trade between them. An example of this trade was the widespread presence throughout the Anasazi culture region of St. Johns Polychrome, a kind of pottery manufactured in the Zuni area beginning in 1150 and extending through the early 1300s A.D. (Stuart 2000: 130,133, 148; Ferguson and Hart 1985: 26). There was also evidence of active and continuous trading between the heavily-populated Safford area and the people that by 1300 A.D. may be identified as Zuni (Wilcox, Gregory et.al. 2007: 182-183; see also Figures 12.6, 12.7, 12.15 and 12.16 for maps

illustrating settlement and population distribution). It appears that most of the major routes used for trade or migration, whether located east or west of the Chuska Mountains, passed through territory later related to or identified with the Zuni people.

The Rock Art Context: Material Culture and the Flower World

Beyond the specific details of thirteenth-century migration routes, Anasazi cultural influences on the eastern and western pueblos were pervasive and long term. With respect to rock art in particular Sally J. Cole writes: “I argue that Anasazi and Pueblo imagery dating from approximately 500 B.C. to A.D. 1450 can be linked back to Basketmaker II times (approximately 500 B.C. to A.D. 450. . . . The subject imagery can be extended to traditional symbols of the Hopi, Zuni, and western Keresan of Acoma” (1994:289). Polly Schaffsma and M. Jane Young are more conservative; they see an Anasazi rock art configuration during the period 900—1300 A.D. ranging from the area now known as southwestern Utah to the Rio Grande “indicating a widely shared cosmology” among all the pueblos (2007:255).²

Claims for a shared cosmology between the Anasazi and Puebloan cultures can be supported by both the existence of material artifacts and their stylistic characteristics. These materials and styles in turn suggest the presence of a shared Flower World image complex. With reference to the upper San Juan River area, dates for the San Juan Anthropomorphic Style of rock art range from late Basketmaker II (400 to 500 A.D.) to early Basketmaker III (500 to 600 A.D.) The dates bracket the period when Flower World images begin to appear in the material form of ceramics, flower disks, and bird effigies (Charles and Cole 2006: 172; Cole 2009:118; Cordell 1979: 134; Schaafsma 1980:112-114). Specifically, artifacts representing these images emerge as early as 500 A.D. in the San Juan

Basin. Later, they appear in Mesa Verde and Kayenta artifacts from 600-1300 A.D. (Hays-Gilpin and Hill 2008:412; Hays-Gilpin and Hill 1999:2-5; 15).

The San Juan Anthropomorphic Style of rock art coincides with discoveries of material evidence of the Flower World not only in terms of time but geographically as well. Rock art images in the San Juan Anthropomorphic Style appear on the western side of the Anasazi culture area from Butler Wash and Grand Gulch in the north to Canyon de Chelly and Marsh Pass in the south (Charles and Cole 2006: 186-194; Grant 1978:211-212; Robins and Hays-Gilpin 2000:235). In particular, images of the monumental anthropomorphs characteristic of the style seem to have influenced late Archaic or early Basketmaker images located at both Salina Springs and Lukachukai on the western side of the Chuska Mountains. Indeed, the western side of the Chuskas appears to exhibit larger figures and more of them than does the eastern side (Charles and Cole 2006: 190-94). As Schaafsma writes of the San Juan Anthropomorphic Style, “The lack of this complex visual system . . . in the upper San Juan region of New Mexico suggests regional ideological differences in the Basketmaker period within the San Juan drainage itself” (1992: 9).

It would not be surprising, then, to discover that flower and bird effigies, tablita-like and altar piece-like objects, and even ceremonial flutes were found in sites frequented by the Anasazi of the Kayenta region just after Basketmaker times to the beginnings of Puebloan culture. In 1915 at Monument Park in Tsegi Canyon, Byron Cummings discovered in a cache of painted wooden birds and carved gourds resembling flowers (1915; 280-81 Figure 55). That same year, Alfred Kidder and Samuel Guernsey discovered yellow and blue wooden bird effigies and yellow sunflowers made of wood and leather in Sunflower Cave at Marsh Pass. They were dated from the Pueblo

III period and lay just above Basketmaker remains (1919: 145-147, Plates 60, 61). More to the south, William Wasley's excavation at Bonita Creek near Point of Pines in the Safford area contained green and blue wooden flowers and has been dated between 1280 and 1310 A. D. (1962:382-384 Figures 4 and 5).

Birds and flowers frequently decorate the headpieces of Pueblo ceremonial figures, and possible precursors of these headpieces may have been uncovered in the Kayenta Anasazi region. Sally Cole has reported that a "tablita-like" crescent form in the shape of flattened horizontal curves with rounded ends was found at a Basketmaker II site in Grand Gulch (2009:122,139 Figure 64; 1993:208). This shaped wooden form was inscribed with the figure of a duck and had small holes possibly used for lacing it onto the head. More to the south, what William Wasley termed examples of stepped "tablitas" or "altar pieces" comprised of increasingly shorter horizontal slats were found nearly intact in the Bonita Creek site. They were made of agave stalks and painted green and black (Wasley 1962: 387-388 Figure 10). Although the significance and function of these tablita-like or altar-piece-like discoveries are still in doubt, they resemble ritual artifacts documented to have been used in Pueblo ceremonies (Cole 1993:207).

Discussions of material artifacts in rock art research do not often mention playable ceremonial flutes, but this paper suggests they were relevant both to Basketmaker rock art and to the Flower World. The frequency of images of flute players in San Juan Basketmaker rock art and the discovery of flutes buried with ceremonial objects suggest that both had ritual functions (Robins and Hays-Gilpin 2000; 241). The famous Broken Flute cave collection of eight feather-decorated wooden flutes, dated between 620 and 630 A.D, was excavated near the pass between the Carizzo and Chuska mountains. This pass at what is now known as Cove, New Mexico lies fifty miles south of the current town of Bluff, Utah and may have

facilitated movement between the eastern and western Anasazi regions (Morris 1980:50 Table 2, 134).

Archaeological remains of flutes have been found on both sides of the east-west divide. To the southwest of the San Juan River, four painted reed flutes were uncovered by Guernsey in 1915 at the Kin-Boko cave site near Marsh Pass on the Mogollon Rim. Artifacts from the cave are known to date from early 396 B.C. to 53 A.D. On the eastern side of the Chuskas, four reed flutes spanning the periods 300 plus or minus 200 B.C. to 700 A.D. were found at the Tularosa Cave site in present-day southwestern New Mexico. At Pueblo Bonito in Chaco Canyon, several flutes were discovered with materials dating as early as the 7th century A.D. Much later, flutes found at Mesa Verde and Betatakin were dated between the 13th and 14th centuries (Goss, 2013).

Finally, there appeared to be a slight but discernible relationship between flutes, yucca, and agave plants. Though most flutes were made of cedar wood, reeds, or hollow bones, some early Basketmaker flutes from the upper Gila River may have been made from yucca stalks (Hough 1907:19, 27, 51; 1914:125-127). Additionally, Ekkehart Malotki has replicated rock art images located in Hopi territory of flute players with agave flower stalks emerging from their flutes (2004: Figure 6d, e, and h). The material remnants of yucca-like plants shaped into carved birds, flowers, tablita-like forms and ceremonial flutes suggest shared connotations that relate to the imagery of the Flower World.

The Centrality and Uniqueness of Zuni

So far, one can make a case for temporal, geographical and cultural continuity in the Anasazi region ranging from late Basketmaker II to early Puebloan times. Demonstrating the precise relationship between Anasazi rock art imagery and a Puebloan mythic complex

encompassing the kachina religion, though, is beyond the scope of this paper. What concerns us from this point forward is the correspondence between Anasazi-based Flower World imagery and Puebloan origin myths and ceremonies, particularly among the Zuni.

Zuni pueblo remains a puzzle with regard to its people, its language, and its culture. Compared to other Western Puebloan groups the Zuni may have a higher percentage of genetic material associated directly with Mesoamerica (Le Blanc, Kreisman et.al. 2007:171). Their language has been described as a “linguistic isolate,” even though it contains word roots derived from Piman, Keresan, Tanoan and Hopi (Hill 2007:22; 30-32). Further, Zuni kachinas appear more directly related to Aztec deities and Piman terms for the “spirits of the dead” than do the kachinas of the Hopi (Hill: 2007: 35, 37; Young 2000:109). Some research supported by oral tradition describes the people as moving from west to east from out of the Little Colorado River or from even further west (Ferguson and Hart 1985:21). Their origins, however, remain indeterminate.

Zuni origin myths, as well as ceremonies associated with the myths, are a rich source of kachina culture imagery and are still cited in the academic literature. Elsie Clews Parsons asserts “[T]here is a specific kachina ideology which is fuller and clearer at Zuni than anywhere else” (1939:174, as quoted in D. Tedlock 2000:161-162). This fullness and clarity, of course, could have resulted from a process of selection and recording by scholars and ethnographers. Nonetheless, Zuni myths recorded near the turn of the twentieth century strongly invoke the kachina religion, thereby informing ritual behavior and shaping active ceremonies conducted in historical times (for primary overviews of Zuni myths and their influence on ceremonial performance, see Benedict 1935; Cushing 1896; 321-447; Parsons 1917: 229-327; and Stevenson 1904).

Finally, several words in the Zuni language are borrowed from Keresan linguistic roots that evoke the Flower World complex. Jane M. Hill traces word roots referring to a “flowery, watery ritual world” specifically to Keresan-speaking communities near Zuni, primarily Acoma pueblo (Hill 2007:33). It would not be surprising, then, to find Zuni narratives of a mythic and ceremonial nature transmitted in language that encodes images of the Flower World.

SAN JUAN ANTHROPOMORPHIC ROCK ART, ZUNI MYTHS, AND THE FLOWER WORLD

The argument of this paper is that Zuni origin myths and kachina ceremonies allude to a complex of images identified with the Flower World. The images in turn provide a frame for viewing upper San Juan Basin Basketmaker rock art as an early variant of that complex. The result is a new perspective on the rock art of the region as well as a contribution to research identifying the Flower World as a fundamental part of Southwestern peoples’ systems of belief.

My choice of images is consistent with the larger Flower World complex, yet is regionally and temporally specific. Kelley Hays-Gilpin states that three prominent groups of images occur in the rock art of the upper San Juan River Basin by the early Basketmaker III period: yucca and agave-like plants; butterflies; and flute players (Robins and Hays-Gilpin 2000:241). I suggest that the content, form, and significance of these three groups of images may be viewed as part of the Flower World complex. Further, the context of these images as expressed in Zuni myths and ceremonies, particularly those of Paiyatamu the Flute God, support their association with the cosmic elements of the Puebloan Flower World.



Figure 1. Map of the Upper San Juan Basin.
Source: Shannon, via Wikimedia Commons.

In each of the following sections, I will first identify the selected rock art imagery and situate it with respect to the Zuni origin myths and associated kachina ceremonial material. Then I will illustrate the imagery with examples from rock art sites found in the upper San Juan River region located in what is today known as Southeast Utah. In general, the images lie within the geographic area extending from Montezuma Creek in the east to Grand Gulch in the west. Finally I will discuss how the images contribute to our understanding of the Flower World and the peoples that may have shared its basic world view

Consistent with the status of the Flower World complex as a “part ideology,” I do not attribute any one meaning to each of the three sets of images. Rather, I propose that each set of images incur multiple associations with relationship to each other that add to their significance. These associations are supported by the mythological and ceremonial contexts of Puebloan, particularly Zuni, culture. My purpose, then, is not to close off discussion of

the meaning of the rock art, but to open up the imagery to greater understanding by articulating their significant associations and grounding them in relevant cultural contexts.³

Yucca and Agave: Head in the Ground, Bloom in the Sky

Although the yuccas and the agaves are distinct types of plants, they are closely related and can appear fairly similar to the untrained eye.⁴ For the most part, both display showy clusters of flowers near the top of a tall central stalk. They have dagger-like spiny leaves that radiate upward and around the circumference of the plant. At their base they possess either prominent root systems or pithy cores. Perhaps most characteristically, they are relatively tall, straight, and vertical in their overall shape (Hess and Robbins 2002: 423; Reveal and Hodgson 2002: 42)

Yucca and agave plants differ, however, in recognizable ways. In the *Yucca baccata* pictured in Figure 2, for example, the flowers are globe-shaped, gather together in a large

cluster at the top of the stalk, and hang in a droopy manner from the stems. In addition, the narrow leaves extend considerably upward along the length of the plant, and the roots are hidden underground.



Figure 2. Yucca baccata.
Forest & Kim Starr, via Wikimedia Commons.

In contrast, the Agave americana shown in Figure 3 displays a long exposed stalk, separate, horizontally-oriented lobes of flowers near the top of the stalk, and a low mound of thick basal leaves. This mound is supported within the basal rosette by a round pithy core referred to as the “heart” or “head” (Reveal and Hodgson 2002: 42).

These distinct yet complimentary features made both types of plants indispensable among the native peoples of the Southwest. Among the yuccas, the flowers of Yucca baccata, also known as the Spanish bayonet produced tasty fruit, while Yucca glauca or soapweed produced fine, tough fiber from the leaves and stalks. The roots of many species of yucca were edible, although native people preferred to make soap from roots with high levels of bitter saponins. Among the agaves, the head of the American century plant was highly palatable when roasted, while the head of Agave murpheyi produced such potent drinks as mescal. The stalks of agave plants could be

used as a source as fiber as well (Bell and Castetter 1941: 3, 8, 10, 22; Castetter, Bell et. al. 1938: 5; Chase, Reveal et.al.2009: 132-136; Cushing 1920: 229; Fish, Fish, et.al. 1992: 73-87; Reveal and Hodgson 2002: 42; Robbins, Harrington et.al. 1916: 10, 35, 42, 45, 50, 73, 74, 147; Stevenson 1915: 72, 73).



Figure 3. Agave americana.
(Courtesy of Cindy Everitt.)

Evidence for the consumption and use of both yucca and agave predated the Basketmakers and continued to the end of the Anasazi period. Archaic peoples may have used rock-lined pits to roast the head of the agave as early as 5400-4000 B.C. Ancient quids made of yucca, agave, and cornstalks, chewed to extract fiber and possibly liquid, have been conservatively dated

from 200-1150 A.D. and appeared throughout the Anasazi culture region. Coprolite studies have affirmed that yucca accounted for a small but significant percentage of the Anasazi diet from early Basketmaker III through the Pueblo III periods, even near such population centers as Canyon de Chelly and Salmon Ruins. From the Basketmaker to the late Pueblo periods, both yucca and agave were also used to make such utilitarian items as baskets, textiles, cordage, and sandals, to name only a few (Bell and Castetter 1941: 8, 22-27, 30-32; Castetter and Bell et.al. 1938:71; Le Blanc, Kreisman et.al. 2007:164-65; Reinhard, 2008:192; Webster 2007; 296, 312).

The onset of agriculture reduced the dependence of the Anasazi people upon the consumption of yucca and agave. By 200-400 A.D., Basketmaker II villages depended primarily upon cultivated maize, as did the Anasazi in the present-day Zuni area (Dohm 1994:257; Matson 2006:155; Reed, 2000:9). Yet according to Karl Reinhard and his colleagues, "After the agricultural revolution in the Southwest, phytolith analysis indicates that about half of the human coprolites contain agave or yucca" (Reinhard, Johnson et.al.2012: 511). Some Anasazi may even have experienced starvation events during the Pueblo III period, when consumption of yucca and agave rose as maize became scarce (Reinhard 2008: 203-204).

After the Anasazi era, the Zuni consumed and used yucca and agave more than any other Puebloan people. Early Spanish accounts recorded the Zunis' exclusive use of woven yucca clothing, while other Puebloans were by that time using cultivated cotton. Indeed, the Zuni retained yucca fiber clothing until they began to raise sheep for their wool (Bell and Castetter 1941: 45; Webster 2007:312). By the early 1900s both Frank Cushing and Matilda Stevenson described in detail the preparation and consumption of both yucca and agave, although by that time agave did not grow naturally within Zuni territory and perhaps

never did (Castetter and Bell 1935:53-54; Cushing 1920: 229-230, 235-237; 598; Stevenson 1915: 72-73; 99).

Nonetheless, agave may have been available to the Zuni by other means. Recent research has discovered that from 1100 until 1400 A.D. the Hohokam cultivated agaves intensively to the point of creating hybrids. Several of the species they grew, including Agave murpheyi, spread into surrounding territories through human agency. Further evidence has been reported for the cultivation of agave in the Safford Valley southwest of Zuni pueblo around 1370 A.D. or earlier. This evidence includes fibrous plant remnants, marked agricultural plots and curved stone tools presumably designed to separate the leaves from the head. In general, ethnobotanists have agreed that the Puebloans, including the Zuni, imported all the agave they used both for consumption and for ritual uses (Castetter and Bell et.al. 1938: 10, 53-54, 69, 75-76; Cushing 1920: 229-230; Fish, Fish et.al. 1992: 73-87; Fish, Fish et.al. 2004; 89, 93-94; Minnis and Plog 1976: 304; Reveal and Hodgson 2002: 442).

Long after their subsistence value ended, then, yucca and agave plants might have retained social and symbolic importance. As Robins and Hays-Gilpin state, "Eating is one of the more important activities in highly social settings, including ritual" (2000: 246). Certainly, neither the Anasazi nor the Puebloans forgot the significance of these two plants, even after they became less important for survival than for their mythic and ceremonial roles.

Myths of Yucca and Agave

Written accounts of Zuni origin myths are fragmented, incomplete, and contain many variants (Benedict 1935: xxx; Boas 1928; 217; Cushing 1896: 375; Parsons 1923: 135). Specifically, the texts as we have received them do not always make a clear distinction between yucca and agave as living plants. Stevenson, for example, uses the Zuni word

ho'kiāpa, or “long leaf wide” for Yucca baccata and ho'tsanna or “long leaf small” for Yucca glauca. Both words derive either from the Piman language or a predecessor of Piman presumably spoken by the Hohokam in the 13th century A.D. Yet these known terms in the Zuni language do not differentiate the yuccas from the agaves (Hill 2007:31; Stevenson 1904: 72, 73, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83). This is not to say that the Zuni did not make accurate and detailed botanical distinctions between plants with which they were intimately familiar. Rather, such distinctions may not have been noted in the myths collected by early ethnographers.

Of the two plants, yucca appears most frequently in Zuni myths of origin. It is present at the beginning of the cosmos and is a fundamental source of life, even as it emerges from the underworld to which all life returns (Farmer 1997:403-406). Alternatively, agave appears more frequently in descriptions of ritual and ceremony particularly with reference to its head, which was roasted in rock pits that turned black with carbon soot. As Stevenson writes, “The undermost world bears several other names: An'nociyan te'hula (world of utter darkness, blackness-of-soot world); Lu'hote kla'pinna; lu'hote (fine earth or dust); kia'pinna (uncooked, not hardened by fire)” (1904; 25 Footnote a). If not processed in this way agave heads are raw, much as the earliest people who emerged from the underworld are seen by modern Zuni informants as “raw,” that is, powerful but unfinished (Young 1988:122-29).

Given the importance of yucca and agave, one would expect Zuni origin myths to depict the earliest creatures to reach the level of the earth by climbing up a reed or stalk that is rooted in the underworld. Unlike other Pueblos, though, the Zunis depict the people emerging directly through an opening in the bottom of a green and mossy lake or spring (Stevenson 1904: 26). The first Zuni clan to move upward from the bottom of the lake is the Rain Society or Shiwannakwe; the second clan is Newekwe,

or clowns. Paiyatamu, the Flute God shrouded in clouds and mist, is the descendent and patron of the Newekwe (Stevenson 1904: 408; see also Cushing 1896:442-445; Wright 2004:58). Such myths reflect concerns with water and life in a desert, although emergence into the world of the living is also part of the story.⁵

Yet myths of yucca plants among Zuni and related Puebloan societies are not always so life-affirming. James Farmer makes a thorough and convincing case for yucca as an image of violence and death. He details the role of spiny yucca leaves in painful Zuni initiation rites, and notes “Posetumo’s” (Paiyatamu’s) reputation among Tewa speakers as a warrior and hunter. To support his position he refers to yucca shields bearing butterfly images placed on the bodies of dead warriors in Grand Gulch Basketmaker III burials (1997: 402-406 and Figure 4d).⁶ In fact, one fairly violent Zuni story identifies yucca directly with dead human bodies. Frank Boas relates how Coyote, imitating the Cranes, kills his mother and carries her body on his back. The cranes fly skyward while teasing Coyote that they carry merely yucca roots, not the corpses of their ancestors (1928: 159-160). Such stories reflect the reciprocal relationship between growth and decay, life and death, and the upper and lower levels of the cosmos.

As for agave, its importance in Zuni life as it appears in the ethnological record was practical and ceremonial. As already mentioned, agaves were associated with the underworld through the roasting of its large round head. In the late 1930s ethnobotanist Edward F. Castetter and his colleagues summarized Frank Cushing’s description of community agave roasts in evocative terms, even as they were rapidly becoming part of collective memory:

In former times, when the Zuni did gather and prepare their own mescal [agave], the methods employed in preparation and storage were very similar to

those of other tribes. Crowds gathered, dances were celebrated, and the pits opened amid universal rejoicing. The group spent its time between riotous feasting and serious mastication of the baked product, and the paste thus formed was spread out thinly over large mats and dried, and could be conveniently rolled for purposes of transportation. . . . The plant possibly rivaled Yucca baccata in importance among these people. (1938:53-54; see also Cushing 1920: 235-237)

Myths of Yucca and Paiyatamu

In terms of the Flower World, Zuni mythology features yucca as its flower of origin. In a Zuni myth collected by Stevenson, yucca plays a brief but crucial role in the very creation of the cosmos. The myth relates how the stars and the Earth Mother are formed out of yucca spittle by the twin brother-sister rain gods (1904: 24). In a Keresan (Laguna) origin myth collected by Parsons, Paiyatamu is directly related to the Earth Mother. She creates the infant Paiyatamu out of the rubbings of her skin as a kashare (clown), who makes her laugh and is given a rainbow to play upon (Parsons 1920:114 and fn.4).⁷

The word “Paiyatamu” means “youth” in the Keresan language (Bunzel 1935: 270). The Zuni figure of Paiyatamu is generally portrayed as a summer god, a flower god, a plant grower, and is related to water, mist, clouds, and music (Cushing 1896: 433-447). In his role as assistant to the Sun God he is also called Bitsitsi, a word denoting a high whistling sound. He earns his more mature name of Paiyatamu when he becomes the leader of the Clown Gods, a patron of the Flute Clan and a yatokia payatemu, or Sun Musician (Parsons 1917:230). According to Stevenson, “Pa'yatamu is diminutive and wears a crown of

flowers, and with the sho'kona (his flute) he causes flowers to bloom and draws the butterflies of the world to him” (1904:48 Footnote b). Alternatively, in myths where he displays his full powers he is portrayed as tall and handsome (Benedict 1935: 203).



Figure 4. Stevenson 1904: Plate 41; 204. Figures from the cave of Paiyatamu. A squash blossom headdress decorates the largest figure.

Kachinas representing Paiyatamu at Zuni and the Keresan settlement of Acoma displayed squash blossoms on their heads in what Stevenson terms “a crown of flowers” (1904:48 Footnote b; 204 Plate b; Hunt 1928; Patterson-Rudolph 1997; 16 and Plates ii and 3; Roediger 1941:83 Figure 18). The Zuni Paiyatamu also shared this characteristic with one of his Hopi counterparts, Taiowa. As Alexander M. Stephen noted: “The Hopi Taiowa as a son of the Sun, wears a squash blossom headdress, and his original home is on the northwest end of Zuni mountains” (1936:25).

If squash blossoms evoked the Flower World in Zuni kachina ceremonial regalia, however, the question arises: Why not yucca or agave flowers? One could argue that the kachina system of belief was a relatively late development in the Pueblo world, and by then images of flowers favored showier blooms like that of the squash blossom. One could also say



Figure 5. Fewkes 1903: Plate 39.
The Hopi Lenya, or Flute Kachina.

that by 1300 A.D. the San Juan Basin was no longer a cultural center. Most of the residents had departed, leaving their ancient images of yucca and also agave behind.

Yet yucca plants were never completely displaced in mythology, ritual, and practical life. What continued to make them special was their pervasiveness and persistence in Zuni culture. For example, early twentieth-century ethnographers noted that the Zuni used yucca constantly to purify and cleanse the body, especially the hair and head. Among Puebloan peoples the process involved vigorously pounding yucca root into a mash. The mash was steeped in a bowl of water and swished around until the suds were released, and excess fibers were then separated out and extracted (Owens 1892: 168-170; Roediger 1941: 83; Stevenson 1908: 83). Particularly in the Zuni community a family member washed an individual's hair, then carefully parted it and slicked it back into characteristic, gendered



Figure 6. Stevenson 1904: Plate 128.
A paho (prayer stick) of Paiyatamu.

hairstyles. “All hasten to have their hair done up, it having been washed in yucca suds. No one can take part in a religious ceremonial without first having the hair washed” (Stevenson 1904: 91, 123, 371-372). In a sense, for the Zuni the head was the physical manifestation of a spiritual state (B. Tedlock 1992: 53).

Headpieces worn by participants in kachina ceremonies underscored the importance of the head among the Zuni. In particular, the mask worn by the Zuni Paiyatamu kachina, was crowned with carved wooden flowers (see the Figurine of God of Music [Payatamu], National Museum of Natural History, Catalog Number E229473-0). To illustrate the visual impact of such a headdress, Figure 5 depicts flowers on stems radiating from the mask worn by the Hopi Lenya (Flute) kachina. Furthermore, the eyes of kachinas associated with flutes were painted blue and yellow (Hunt 1928; Fewkes 1903: Plate 39).

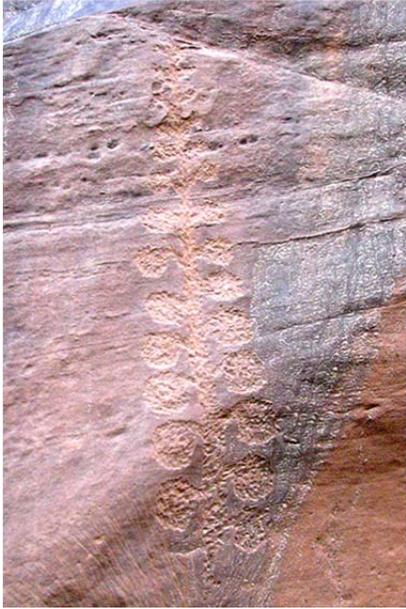


Figure 7. Butler Wash. Image of a plant with slightly drooped, horizontal flower clusters.

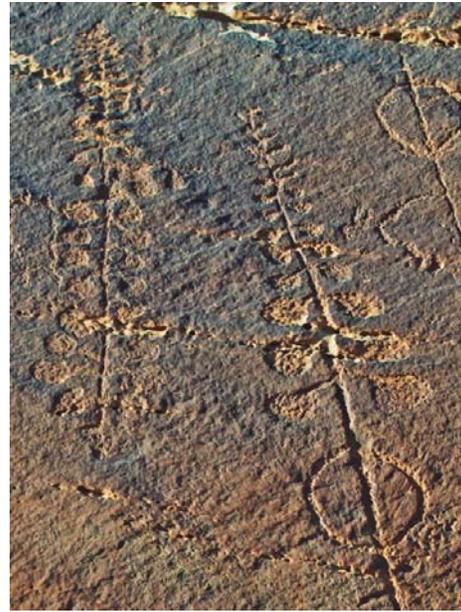


Figure 8. Butler Wash. Yucca or agave images with tall straight stalks.



Figure 9. Butler Wash. Image of a flute player and a stalk with globular flowers and arm-like extensions. Note the figures possibly carrying away roots, one with trailing rootlets.



Figure 10. Comb Wash. This unusual image may represent either a yucca or an agave plant on its side with its base exposed.

Significantly, the colors blue and yellow were linked to the Zuni figure of Paiyatamu, and seem to have implied his sexuality. Stevenson in her treatise on the Zuni included a picture of a yellow and blue double paho from the shrine of Paiyatamu (Stevenson 1904:Plate128). Barbara Tedlock reported that for mid-twentieth century Zuni summer ceremonies, women made yellow pahos and men made blue (1983: 94). Bunzel noted that among the Keresan: “[Paiyatamu’s] prayer stick, significantly, is double, and is painted blue and yellow, the colors associated with sex” (1932: 531). Remarkably, the wooden fetishes of birds and sunflowers Kidder and Guernsey found in 1915 at Sunflower Cave, Marsh Pass (1200-1300 A.D.) were also painted blue and yellow (1919; Plate 61).

As for agave plants, the long-standing function of agave roasts in the ceremonial life of the Zuni people has already been noted. The persistence of such elements as the ritual use of yucca, agave roasts, decorated headgear, and even significant colors suggests possible connections with images in rock art as early as the Basketmaker II period in the San Juan River Basin.

Yucca and Agave Images in Rock Art

Images of yucca and/or agave in the rock art of the San Juan River region do not always reflect the distinguishing features of the two types of plants with accuracy. At best, the shapes range from abstract forms with a few identifying characteristics to anatomically detailed depictions of entire plants. Three major characteristics shared by yucca and agave-like plants however do appear in the rock art. First, the images display flower clusters with rounded ends that appear to be suspended horizontally or slightly drooped (as in Figures 7 and 8). Second, images of the stalks of yucca or agave plants are notably tall, straight and vertical in relation to their width, again as shown in Figure 7 and in Figure 8. Finally some yucca or agave-like images display pronounced round basal structures. In Figure 9, a flute player is oriented toward the bottom of the plant and two other figures appear to be carrying large round objects—either agave heads or drums--in the other direction. Interestingly, the plant also seems to display limb-like appendages midway up the stalk.

In Figure 10, the gouging of the head and the horizontal position of the stalk appears to show

either a yucca or an agave plant lying on its side and its base exposed. The gouging also may have been a result of ritual pecking over time, although the possible presence of bullet holes cannot be discounted. Given its unusual posture, one might speculate that the horizontal line beneath the image of the plant represents a digging stick used to lever the plant out of the ground.

Such an emphasis on the base of the plant might also indicate its various uses. These include the process of producing suds for cleansing, the placing of a plant in a carrier for transport, or the preparation of the root for food.

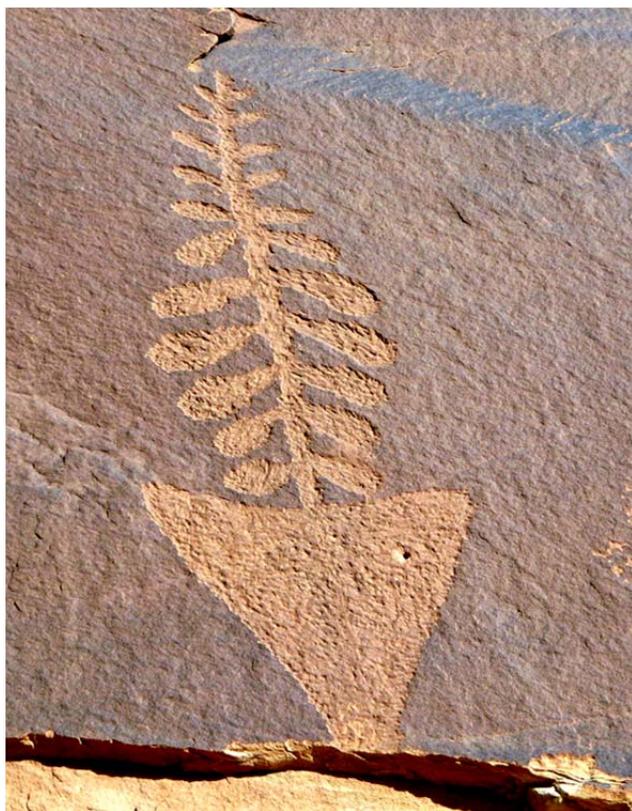


Figure 11. Comb Wash. Image of a plant with a possible container at its base.

In Figure 11 for example, the lower part of the image with its smooth rim and concave edge seems to represent a human artifact, although it

might also depict a highly stylized basal rosette. Comparable images of the base of yucca or agave plants that appear to be placed in pots or containers are located at Comb Ridge (Slifer 2007: 58 Figure 2.02a), and Cedar Mesa (Cole 1993: 200; Figure 9.6).

Given the importance of yucca and agave plants and their distinctive shape, one might suggest that images in the San Juan Basin region reproducing this shape imparted symbolic significance to other, less literal referents, such as that of the human body and its cultural attributes. Put more directly, the elaborate headdresses of some San Juan Anthropomorphic figures might have replicated yucca or agave plants in bloom, and as a result may have taken on a range of associations that added to their symbolic significance (in Victor Turner's terminology, "disparate significata," 1967: 28).

First of all the form and shape of images of headdresses on San Juan Basin anthropomorphs resemble the images of yucca and agave-like plants. As illustrated in Figures 12 and 13, Butler Wash in particular contains a number of anthropomorphs with headdresses in the same general location as yucca or agave-like images (for more examples see Noxon and Marcus 1992: Figures 3, 7, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 30, 59, 68, 69, 71, 72, 84, 88). Such elements as the lateral extension of the flower clusters, their rounded, slightly drooping ends, their tall, stacked position, and the elaboration of the stalk and/or pecked-in head might well replicate the shape of the headdresses of monumental Basketmaker II San Juan Style anthropomorphs.

Second, the placement and positioning of the images of headdresses emphasize their relationship to images of yucca and agave-like plants. In Figure 14 note the image of the yucca or agave plant inserted between images of anthropomorphs wearing curved headdresses.

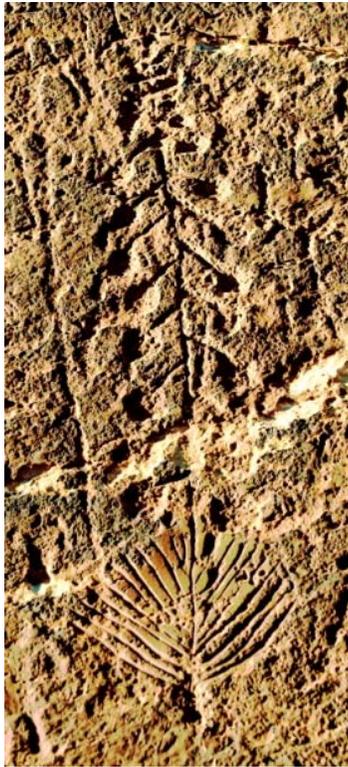


Figure 12. Butler Wash. Image of a plant with stacked, slightly drooped flowers, a tall stalk, a basal rosette of leaves, and a pecked-in base or head. (Courtesy of Dave Manley.)

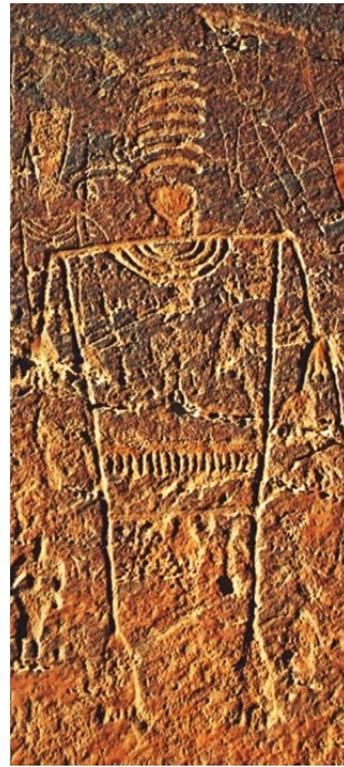


Figure 13. Butler Wash. Image of a tall, elongated anthropomorph with a stacked, curved headdress, a vertical neck, and a pecked-in head. (Courtesy of Dave Manley.)



Figure 14. Butler Wash. Images of anthropomorphs with filled-in heads and headdresses displaying multiple curves of varying types. A yucca-like plant is juxtaposed among the anthropomorphs. (Courtesy of Dave Manley)



Figure 15. Butler Wash. (Courtesy of Rob del Desierto hikearizona.com). Multiple images of anthropomorphs with various versions of stacked headdresses and filled-in heads resembling the form of yucca or agave plants.

Third, Figure 15 displays examples of headdresses in Butler Wash that accentuate through their sheer multiplicity their similarity to yucca and agave-like shapes. Nowhere else within the Anasazi culture area are there as many variations upon headdresses that resemble yucca-like plants, just as nowhere are there as many images of these plants in one location.

The argument for the significance of images of headdresses, however, goes one step beyond the similarity of their physical shapes, their juxtaposition with images of yucca and/or agave, or their sheer multiplicity. Specifically I suggest that the images of the plants

themselves may add significant associations to the images of the headdresses on monumental San Juan Basin anthropomorphs (for a discussion of how symbols can impart significant associations see Turner 1967: 19-20; 22-23; 28; 44; 46; 54). To support this notion, let us refer to a representation of pairs of anthropomorphs gender marked as male and female. The headdress worn by the female anthropomorph in Figure 16 displays a stack of horizontal crescent forms with rounded ends and a filled-in head, reminiscent of a yucca or agave plant in bloom. Moreover the headdress of the gendered female differs from the less elaborate headdress of her male companion precisely because of its resemblance



Figure 16. Sand Island. Images of a male and a female anthropomorph.

to yucca-like images. In fact, the image of the gendered female is roughly comparable to that of the male in height and size by virtue of her headdress. All of these characteristics appear to lend her a degree of symbolic significance associated with images that resemble yucca or agave-like plants.

The image of this figure in particular, and the importance of images of female gendered anthropomorphs in general, will be discussed later in this paper. Here it may be enough to suggest that images of yucca or agave-like headdresses lend a certain amount of significance to the human-like figures that wear them. As for the precise content of that significance in the lives of the people who made the rock art, we as observers can only make more or less educated guesses. We are

unable to watch ancient peoples or societies interact with their symbol systems in the direct way that, for example, an anthropologist observes another culture.

Still, from an observer's point of view images of yucca and/or agave replicated in the headdresses of anthropomorphs do seem to incur a variety of symbolic associations. For example, the stacked, multiple levels of horizontal curves might suggest such associations as generativity, increase and growth. The round, filled in heads beneath an elaborate superstructure could reference influence and authority. The vertical positioning and towering height of the headdresses may indicate presence, dominance, and even power. These associations evoke the possibility that the people of the upper San

Juan River Basin may have chosen ancient desert plants to signify their very identity as a people, one that emerged from the underground into the present world and not only survived but attained a degree of distinction and success (Figure 17).

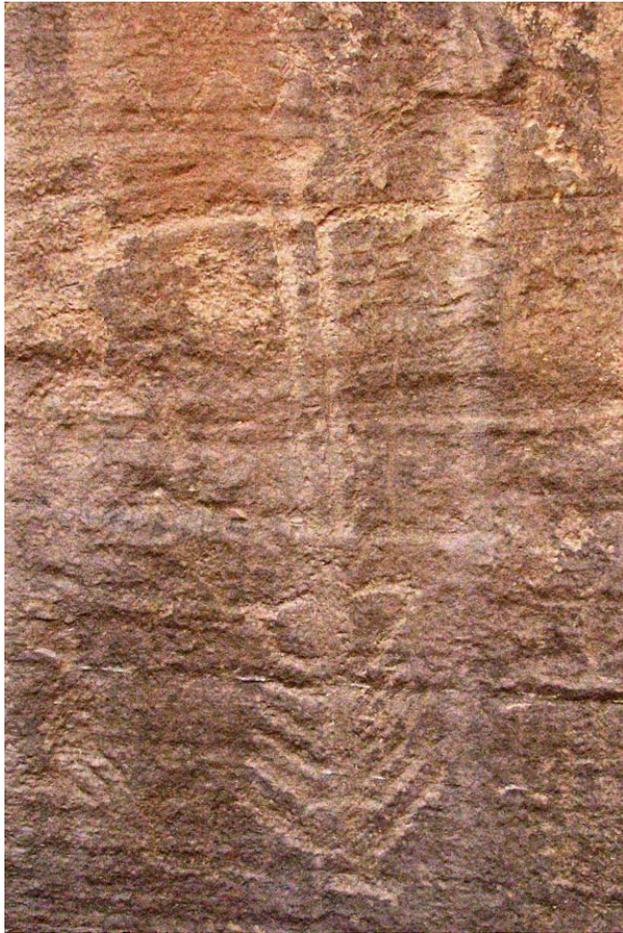


Figure 17. Butler Wash.
Image of an anthropomorph with arms extended above what may be a basal cluster of yucca or agave leaves.

Discussion

Given the many types and forms of headdresses in rock art, the association of crescent forms with images of yucca or agave flower clusters is only one way headdresses might acquire added significance. Yet it is a neglected way, particularly in an area as rich in

the imagery of yucca-like plants as the San Juan Basin. As mentioned above, few other places display rock art with so many easily identifiable yucca or agave-like images in close relationship with elaborate anthropomorphs. Yet little work has been done on what, if anything, the iconography of yucca and/or agave adds to the San Juan Anthropomorphic Style.

Researchers have not associated the curves atop San Juan Style Basketmaker II Anthropomorphs with yucca or agave flower clusters; rather, they have been identified with clouds or cloud terraces. Specifically, both Sally Cole and Polly Schaffsma term these curves “crescent” forms, with Cole adding that the forms are “tablita-like” (Charles and Cole 2006: 192; Cole 2009:122; 1980: 115; Cole 1993: 207; Olsen 1985:20; Schaffsma 1980; 115). This association of crescent forms with tabletas is supported by J. Walter Fewkes, who stated that entire headdresses decorated with curves or crescents represented cloud terraces (Fewkes 1892; 19-20 and Footnote 2; 1897: 2-3). Hence the imagery of stacked crescent headdress seems to have been identified with one particular referent. That is, the relationship between certain images of headdresses in Basketmaker II rock art and Puebloan ceremonial tabletas has been established through their common association with cloud terraces.

Why, then, introduce the imagery of yucca and agave plants into the discussion? I do this not because I intend to determine the precise relationship between San Juan Style Basketmaker II rock art headdresses and Puebloan tabletas, although some archaeological evidence suggests a material connection. Nor do I find it crucial to demonstrate that crescent forms refer either to cloud terraces or yucca-like flower clusters, since we will probably never know for sure. Rather, I am motivated by such questions as the following: How did crescent forms in headdresses appear to accrue meaning in the

rock art of the San Juan River Basin people? Put more briefly, how do crescent forms seem to be, in Victor Turner's words, so "full of significance" (1967: 44)?

Accordingly, I propose that images of yucca and agave plants in the upper San Juan River Basin may have contributed additional or enhanced significance to headdresses displaying crescent forms on the heads of certain Basketmaker II monumental anthropomorphs. To illustrate this proposal, let us examine some conventional associations attributable both to crescent forms and yucca-like plants. As noted above, crescent forms over the head of an anthropomorph appear to refer to cloud terraces, signifying the fertility, generativity and fruitfulness of moisture and rain. Similarly, stacks of crescent forms that tower upward upon a staff arising from a head appear to refer to yucca or agave plants, signifying presence, extension and enlargement. Added together, these associations might evoke a range of attributes that include such qualities as abundance, wealth, dominance, and even power. Whether or not these associations correspond precisely to the understandings of the people who made them, our limited knowledge of Basketmaker II culture, the context of Zuni myth and ceremony, and observations of the images themselves lean in this general direction.

Furthermore, some of the images of yucca and agave-like plants may have become increasingly iconic over time. That is, while earlier images seem more idiosyncratic and expressive, later images seem more formal and replicable. These more uniform and consistent depictions of individual plants may have been juxtaposed or superimposed upon Basketmaker II San Juan Style Anthropomorphs as much as 450 to 550 years after the original figures were made (Robins and Hays-Gilpin 2000: 234,241; and Figure 11). Turner includes such iconic images within the category of "dominant symbols," and attributes their turn toward uniform and consistent styles of representation

to what he calls a "polarization of meaning" (1967:20; 28; 31-33; 38-39; 54-55; 265). For instance, one might observe polarization away from variety and toward uniformity in the form and shape of a corporate logo or a brand. Indeed Schaafsma terms some of the San Juan Basketmaker II images, whether attached to an anthropomorph or featured independently, as "emblematic" (1980: 115).⁸

It is reasonable to surmise, then, that iconic images of prominent and well-defined yucca or agave plants could have quickly and unequivocally marked the location and identity of a specific group of people both for themselves and for other observers to see. Additionally, juxtaposed with or lying beneath these icons may have existed more varied images that reflected the process of becoming a cohesive and consistent group (Charles and Cole 2006: 203; Turner 1967: 28; 30; 32-33; 35-36; 43-44; 265). However they were identified, for some San Juan River Basin populations to be known as the "Yucca People" or the "Agave People" as expressed in their iconic emblems may have served as a unique and meaningful signature in a diverse social world, as well as representing their relationship to the levels below the earth and the world beneath the sky.

Butterfly: Hovering between Earth and Sky

The root word for butterfly, puula or poli, appears in the Zuni, Keresan, and Hopi languages (Hill 2007: 31, 35). In Pueblo myths flying insects, including dragonflies and cicadas, are associated with the worlds of the air and the underground, germination, water, and sound, as in the Zuni Dragonfly Man (Cushing 1920: 84-124; Malotki 1997: 59) and the cicada flute player of the Hopis (Malotki 2004: Plates 1, 2; 17-50, 61-77). I argue that images of butterflies (and to some extent images of dragonflies as noted later) are part of the San Juan rock art variant of the Flower World image complex. Because butterflies are

also associated with the female gender in Puebloan contexts, these images might refer to social relationships between the genders that provide a basis for social and cosmological belief.

Myths of Butterflies

According to Michael Robins and Kelley Hays-Gilpin (2000: 241) images of butterflies in the Anasazi culture area imply the presence of the Flower World complex. Hays-Gilpin states that images of maidens with butterfly hairdos in Anasazi rock art appeared in Canyon de Chelly by 200 A.D. and occurred regularly in the Four Corners area by 600 A.D. She notes that “[i]mages of flute players paired with maidens seem to correlate most closely to the Zuni story about how *Paiyatamu*, a young male solar deity, lures home the Corn Maidens. . . [by] a necessary combination of moisture (rain). . . and warmth” (2004:135,143-144).

There are several versions of *Paiyatamu* myths mentioning young women and butterflies in the Zuni and Keresan (primarily Acoma and Laguna) cultures. In one Zuni version, the Flute God revenges his own murder by the eldest of a group of maidens who take on the shape of cornstalks. He seduces them by persuading a butterfly to enter into and emerge from his flute, making them all crazy enough to shed their clothes. At the end of the story the Sun Youth revenges his murder by turning the eldest maiden into a yellow swallowtail butterfly, while the others are turned into moths (D. Tedlock 1999:127-164; for a variant see Benedict 1935: 197-199).

A comparable Keresan myth is related by Carol Patterson-Rudolph and derived from Franz Boas. The Yellow Women (Rain Deities who assist the Cloud People and who sometimes resemble clouds) halt fecundity by refusing to marry anyone. Yet by the end of the myth the flute god Oshach Paiyatiuma (the son of the Sun) directs a butterfly that emerges from his flute to help the maidens create new patterns

for baskets or weavings based upon his colorful wings (Patterson-Rudolph 1997: 10-26; Boas 1920: 91-102). The imagery of the butterfly hovering between earth and sky, even as a maiden hovers between puberty and marriage, underscores the liminal quality of the myths. They vacillate on the border between seduction and courtship, revenge and generosity, death and life.

To specify the relationship between butterflies and gendered females, Patterson-Rudolph foregrounded a crucial element. As indicated previously, the color yellow signifies sexuality as well as music, flowers, the sun, summer, and moisture. It is also the color of the corn pollen and the yellow paint placed on the bodies of young Keresan and Hopi women, respectively, in ceremonies honoring generation and life (Boas 1920: 82-130; Hays-Gilpin, Newsome et.al. 2010:123; Patterson-Rudolph 1997:17-26; Wright 2004: 63 quoting Parsons 1939). The young women’s fascination with and fear of music, dance, flirtation, and sex coincided with their ceremonial identities as butterfly maidens who were ripe but still virginal (see the discussion by Fewkes 1910: 583-584 on this stage of adolescent development in Puebloan culture). The color yellow not only signaled their fertility but also their social, spiritual, and perhaps even psychological status as adolescent women.

Further, it is significant that myths of the maidens attributed their ardent pursuit of the bright, multicolored butterfly to their quest for new and varied designs for their baskets or weavings (Boas 1928:91-102; Patterson-Rudolph 1997:21, 26; D. Tedlock 1999; 128). The call of the flute and the pursuit of the butterfly that emerges from it accompanied the transformation of the maidens from girls into young women. It channeled their flirting and dancing into domestic labor that produced beautiful and useful objects and perhaps many offspring as well. “Raw” young women were skillfully “cooked” by evoking and directing their natural desires into creative endeavors



Figure 18. Fewkes 1910: Plate 47. The Butterfly Dance at Hopi.

that replicated the order of their community as well as that of the cosmos (Turner 1967: 38-39; 101-102; 265).

Myths of Butterflies and Paiyatamu

As mentioned above, Stevenson wrote: “Pa'yatāmu causes flowers, especially the *te'natsāli*, to bloom with the music of his flute, and with it he calls together the butterflies of the world.” She continued by saying that the bodies of butterflies and dragonflies, and the special flowers called *tenatsali*, were ground up and taken as a potent medicine before ceremonies run by the Zuni Flute Clan (1904:569 Footnote a). Dennis Tedlock notes that the flowers were multicolored, and specifically included flowers that are yellow and blue, although the exact combination of flowers making up this medicine has remained obscure (1999: 163). Nevertheless, butterflies, dragonflies, and flowers were literally incorporated into the bodies of men participating in ceremonial activities.

Conversely, in several of the pueblos young women's bodies were themselves transformed

into representations of butterflies. At Zuni pueblo a butterfly cocoon was immediately tied to the arms of girl babies after their birth, so their wrists would be strong for such domestic chores as making yucca strings (Owens, 1892:173). At Hopi, young women were coiffed, dressed and given a name that implicated butterflies. For example, a *poli'ini* is a butterfly hair whorl (Hays-Gilpin, 2004:127-134); a *ho kó nā mā nā* (butterfly virgin; from Keresan) is a maiden who wears a hair whorl (Fewkes 1892: 154; 1910: 583). Even in Hopi ceremonies where female kachinas were portrayed by males dressed as females, a whorled hairdo and a white kilt displaying stacked triangles and butterfly images identified the participant as a butterfly maiden (Fewkes 1892: 41-42,139; see also Roedinger 1941: Plate 22).

In Puebloan societies the Butterfly Dance was the most public presentation of a maiden's social position, and the Flute God played an important part. In past eras the kivas of Muyingwa, a Hopi counterpart of Paiyatamu in his role as a germination god, hosted the

society that conducted butterfly dances, and at Hano black and white Tewa clowns or Paiyakyamu participated in the dance as well (Fewkes 1892:15, 19 Footnote 1; Fewkes 1910: 589-590; Mallery 1894:705; Parsons 1916:392-399). The dancers themselves, all young women, were set apart by their tall squared headdresses, or *tablitas* (*na'chi* in Hopi; Fewkes 1892:19).

As mentioned above, the *tablitas* represented terraces of clouds, and they rose up above the head so the face could receive life-giving rain. The frames were held up by a band around the head, braced by slats of wood covered in buckskin or burlap, and decorated with images of butterflies, clouds, rain and corn. Zuni pueblo conducted similar women's dances featuring simpler but equally distinctive headgear (Fewkes 1892: 19, 41-42; Fewkes 1910:589; Roedinger 1941:157-158).

Images of butterflies on Hopi kiva murals, headdresses, pottery, and clan symbols also gave clues to how they may have been portrayed by Puebloan peoples. Garrick Mallery's treatise on picture writing, an early collection of clan symbols confirmed by Hopi informants, depicted a butterfly with a rounded head, two antennae, and angular wings (1894: 748 and Figure 1261m).

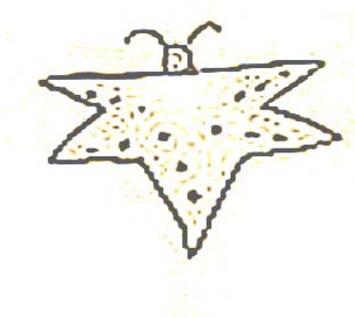


Figure 19. Mallery 1894: Figure 1261m. Drawing of a Hopi butterfly clan symbol.

Moreover, J. Walter Fewkes' study of kiva murals at the Awatovi site near Hopi included illustrations of painted slabs that had been

removed from the original murals (1910: 583-584 and Figure 61). These slabs featured images of stepped, flat-topped structures with angled ends representing either cloud terraces, headdresses, or the backdrops of kiva altars. According to Fewkes, the backs of the slabs in Figure 20 displayed painted butterfly (f) and dragonfly (g) images, although the image identified as (f) has also been interpreted as a dragonfly (Smith 1952: Figure 68 Footnote a).

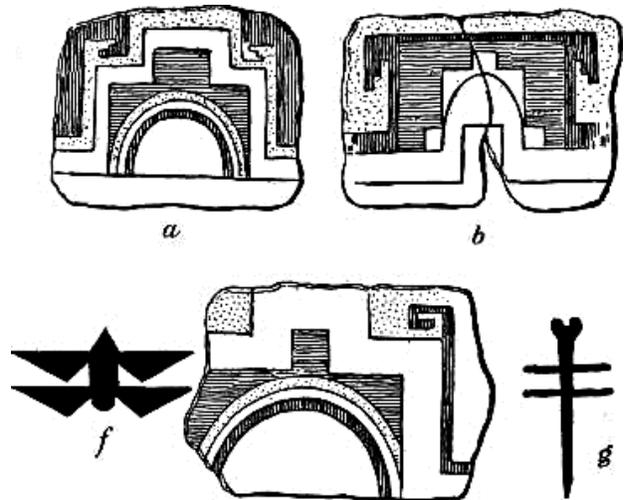


Figure 20. Fewkes 1910 Figure 61. Drawings of slabs taken from Awatovi kiva murals.

Such a difference of opinion suggests that not all representations of the two insects refer unequivocally either to butterflies or dragonflies. Among the Zuni and the Hopi, however, these representations generally display such common characteristics as vertical bodies, extended wings, large and/or rounded heads and occasional antennae. So may depictions of butterflies (and possibly dragonflies) in the Basketmaker II rock art of the upper San Juan River Basin.⁹

Butterfly Images in Rock Art

Rock art images of butterflies differ considerably among themselves (Bernardini 2005:111; Colton and Colton 1931: 34; Fewkes 1910: 583-584 and Figure 61; Mallery 1894: 705 Figure 1165; 748 Figure 1261). For example, Wesley Bernardini has done a

comprehensive survey of these symbols at the inscription site of Tutuveni, or Willow Springs, Arizona where contemporary Hopi informants identified a wide range of butterfly clan symbols inscribed on the rocks (2007: Figure 3.9f). Similarly, several varieties of images of butterflies appear in Basketmaker II rock art, as illustrated in Figure 21.



Figure 21. Butler Wash.
Angular and rounded Basketmaker period images resembling Hopi clan symbols at Tutuveni, or Willow Springs Arizona.

Like the clan symbols at Tutuveni, images of butterflies in the upper San Juan region vary widely, encompassing double loops with stick bodies and rounded heads, linked triangles of varying sizes, single and double ovals and squares, and nearly square bodies with angular points.¹⁰

Although images of butterflies encompass a variety of shapes, they refer to a creature potentially easy to recognize. M. Jane Young states that when shown pictures of nearby petroglyphs, Zuni informants nearly unanimously agreed upon the referent of images of animals and identified them by known content, e.g., sheep or deer. In contrast, anthropomorphic images were more ambiguous; they were usually identified not by content but by the way they were delineated, e.g., solid vs. outlined (1988:91-92, 263

Footnote 42). These results suggest that the content of rock art images may be more easily identified when the referent, such as an animal, is well known to the members of a group. Thus the people of the northern San Juan Basin may have employed several images of butterflies in rock art to refer to a creature they knew well (Figure 22).¹¹



Figure 22. Various images of butterflies.
From upper left clockwise: Comb Wash; Montezuma Creek; Comb Wash; Montezuma Creek

At Zuni and Hopi pueblos images of butterflies were almost literally incorporated into the bodies of young women. Similarly, butterflies in rock art seem to signify feminine forms of bodily display. Images with hair whorls have been strongly coded as female in rock art from Anasazi through Puebloan times (Hays-Gilpin 2004: 134-138). Thus it would not be surprising to find butterfly images in Basketmaker rock art that appear to reference the hair whorls of butterfly maidens. Figure 23 depicts an image of a creature with a head and body, legs cocked in the “hocker” position identified with female receptivity (Hays-Gilpin 2004: 28; Slifer 2000: 46). The image is flanked by rectangles that simultaneously

resemble both hair whorls and the outstretched wings of butterflies, as well as displaying a rounded head and a stick body.



Figure 23. Sand Island. A butterfly-like image with a rounded head, vertical body and side appendages.



Figure 24. Grand Gulch. Possible butterfly or dragonfly image.

Similarly, Figure 24 displays a large head, vertical body and square appendages that resemble both hair whorls and the wings of a flying insect such as a butterfly or a dragonfly. The single antenna on the head, the bottom line of the appendages, and the dots may have been added by a later hand. Although the “wings” are unusually square in shape, a similar square-winged image identified by informants as a butterfly clan symbol appears at the Hopi Willow Springs site (Bernardini 2007: Figure 3.9 f) In addition, though the image itself may not be female gendered, on its lower right side is an anthropomorph posed in a “hocker” position.



Figure 25. Montezuma Creek. Image of a female gendered anthropomorph with conventional hair whorls. Note the bird-like hands and feet suggesting a relationship to creatures of the air.

Conventional representations of hair whorls on the heads of anthropomorphic images do appear in the San Juan River region, as shown in Figure 25. The preponderance of this kind of female-gendered image in the region, however, emerges in the early Basketmaker III period. This places the classic gender identifier of hair whorls on images of female anthropomorphs somewhat later than either the images of gendered butterflies, or of females with stacked headdresses of the late Basketmaker II era as illustrated in Figure 16 above (Hays-Gilpin

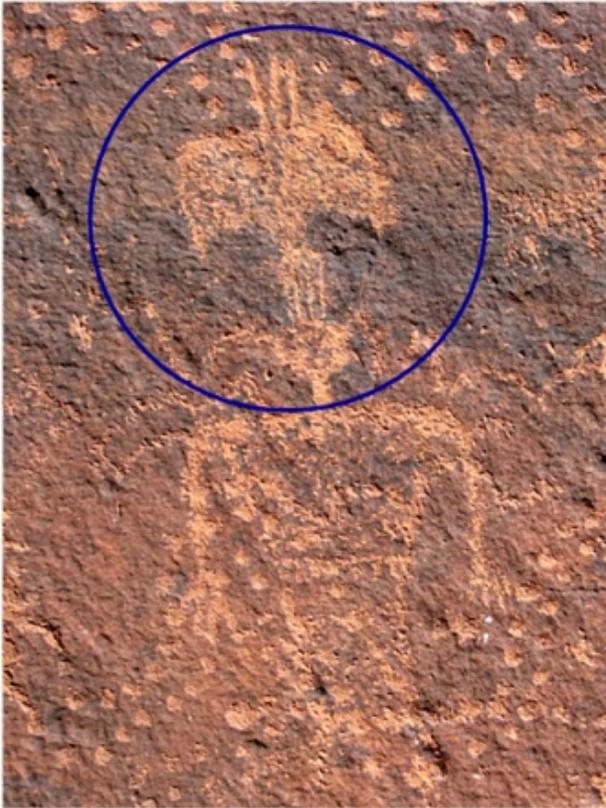


Figure 26. Cedar Mesa. Image of an anthropomorph with a butterfly-like headdress. Note the antennae and the vertical line supporting the headdress above the head.

2004:137; Robins and Hays-Gilpin 2000: 240-241).

As illustrated above, there appear to be common elements generally associated with images of yucca and agave-like plants. Likewise, common elements generally identified with images of butterflies appear to be reproduced in the headdresses of monumental San Juan Basketmaker II anthropomorphic figures. These headdresses may be seen as replicating images of butterflies with round, filled-in heads, stick bodies, antennae and wings, as in Figures 26 and 27.

To narrow the focus upon aspects of butterfly imagery in rock art relevant to this study, let us single out a distinctive shape among the many

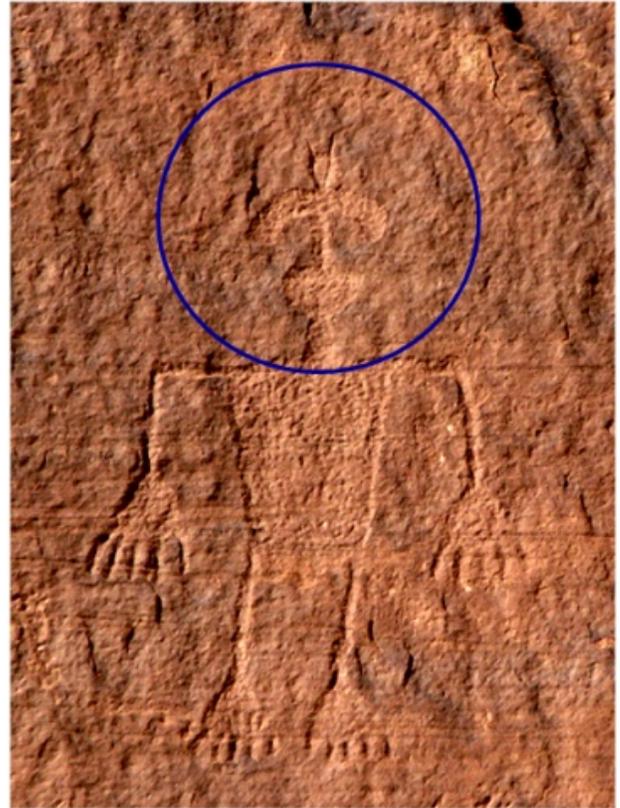


Figure 27. Butler Wash. Image of an anthropomorph with a butterfly-like headdress. Two small antennae emerge from the circle at the top of the headdress.

possibilities available. This shape features a flattened top, angled wings tapering downward on each end, a vertical body and a filled-in head (as in Figure 28). In 1890 Alexander Stephen noted a similar image of a flattened top, angled wings, vertical body and filled-in head on the neck of a Hopi Sityaki style pottery jar. He identified the image either as a squash bud or a dragonfly, or both (Figure 29). The overall shape, however, suggests a butterfly figure similar to the one on the Awotavi slab in Figure 21, but with only one rather than two set of wings (Wade and McChesney 1980: 47; Patterson 1984: 99; 155-6).

In his comprehensive study of winged insects, Ekkehart Malotki stipulated that images of dragonflies along the Hopi Salt Trail included

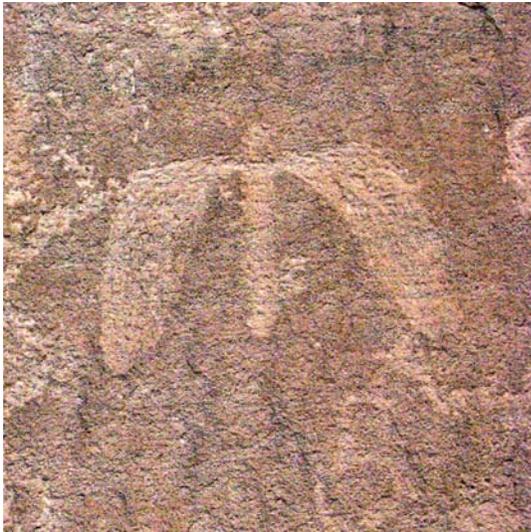


Figure 28. Butler Wash. Image of a butterfly (or dragonfly) with flattened, tapered wings.



Figure 29. Stevens' sketch of an image on the neck of a Sityaki pot that he identified as a squash bud or dragonfly (Patterson 1994: 155.)



Figure 30. Butler Wash. An anthropomorph with a flattened butterfly-type crescent in its headdress. There is a vertical neck, a small filled-in head, and angled wings.



Figure 31. Butler Wash. An anthropomorph with two flattened butterfly-like crescents in its headdress. Note the filled-in head, vertical staff, and angled wings.

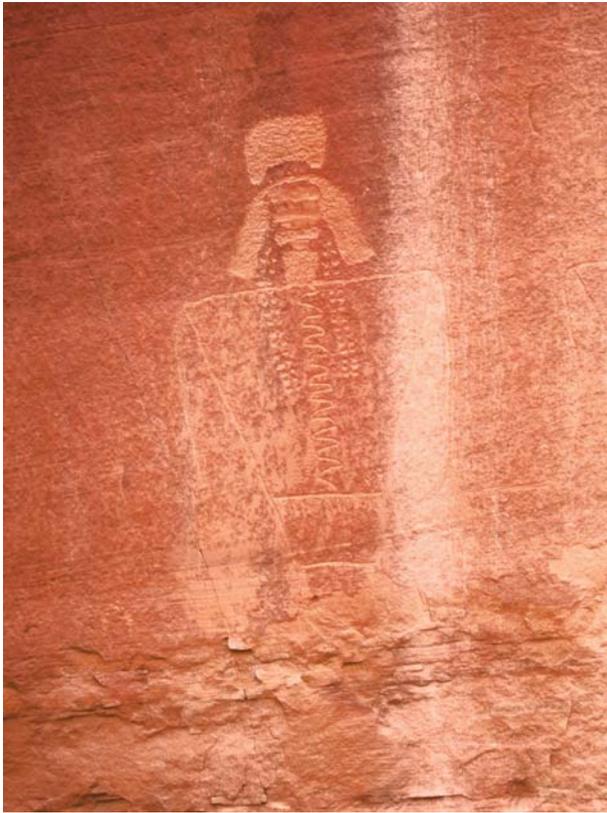


Figure 32. Butler Wash. (Courtesy of Carol Georgeopolous). The headdress is tall, squared, and has a flat top and angled ends.



Figure 33. John's Canyon. The headdress has flattened crescents with angled ends similar to headdresses in Figure 20. There is a filled-in head and a small filled-in circle at the top.

two sets of wings, or at least two horizontal elements (1997: 62). Hence for the purposes of this paper I will refer to the rock art image as depicted in Figure 28 as that of a butterfly, although Stephen's alternate identifications of the image as that of a squash bud or a dragonfly might well be part of the same complex.¹²

Given this particular shape, images of butterflies with flat tops and angled wings may have been incorporated into the headdresses on Basketmaker II San Juan Style Anthropomorphs. In Figures 30 and 31 the crescent forms in the headdresses of the anthropomorphs are flattened on the top and taper downward (Cole 2009:122; Schaffsma 1980; 115). The headdresses might also contain a vertical line and/or a filled-in head.

Some of the headdresses in question are tall and almost entirely square, except for tapers that reach toward the sides of the head. In fact, the headdresses in Figures 33 and 34 bear a certain resemblance to the squared, flat-topped images of tabletas or kiva backdrops on the Awotavi slabs studied by Fewkes. Furthermore, of the headdresses illustrated so far these squared forms come closest to resembling the tall elaborate tablitas worn by young women in Zuni and Hopi butterfly dances.¹³

Finally, although the imagery of butterflies and/or dragonflies appears in the headdresses of both gendered and nongendered anthropomorphs, several tablita-like headdresses resembling butterflies are associated with explicitly gendered females. To illustrate, let us take a closer look at images of

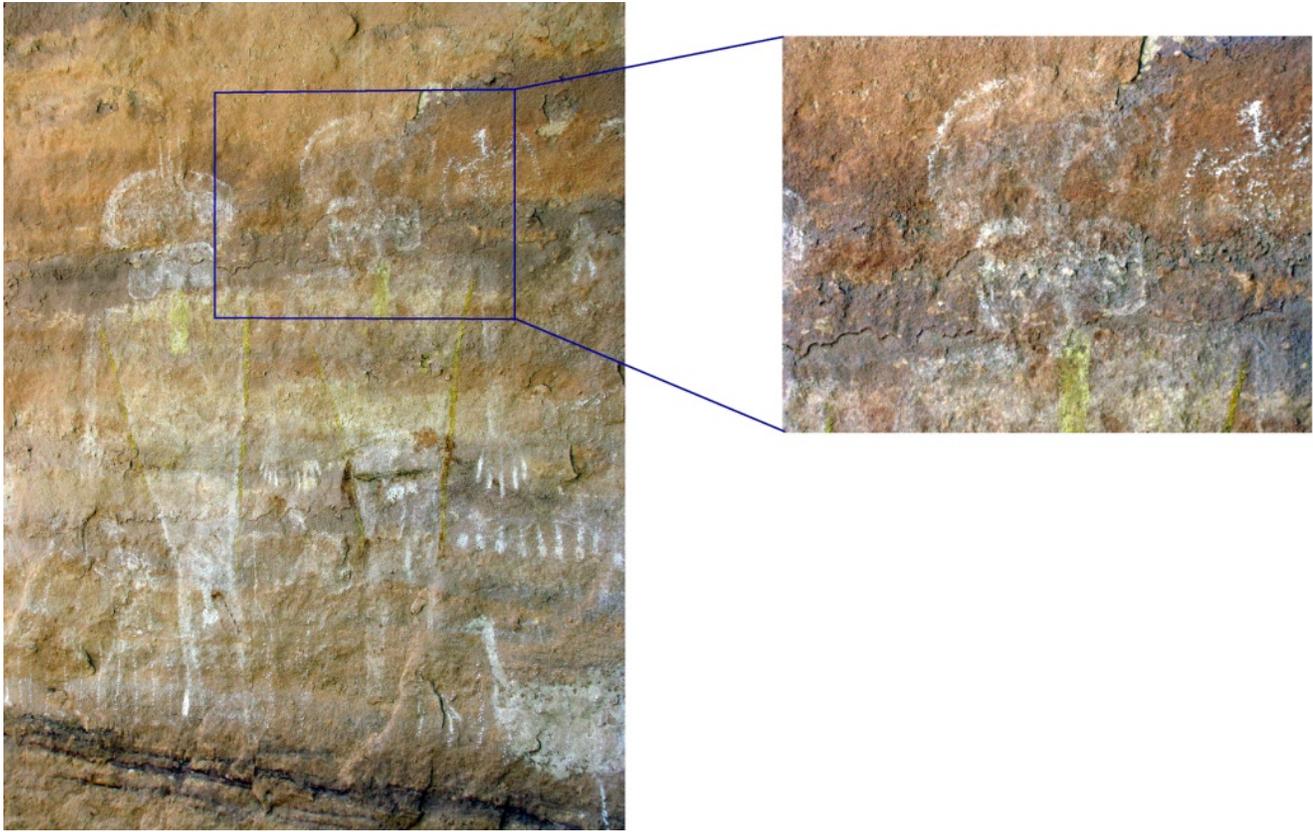


Figure 34. Grand Gulch. Images of a pair of gendered anthropomorphs with headdresses.

three monumental female Basketmaker II Anthropomorphs. These figures are variously marked as female by the imagery of genitals, breasts, nipples and menstrual aprons (Cole 1993: 210-211). Yet they are as tall and large as their gendered male companions, and they wear crescent-form headdresses. Their postures and similarities to their male companions set them apart from other representations of females in the San Juan region, such as in Figure 26. In addition, their headdresses evoke images of butterflies in a highly specific way.

In the image of the first pair of anthropomorphs, the male and a female are almost identical in shape and size except for explicitly gendered genitals (Figure 34). They each have two levels of headdresses: a crescent form with lines emerging from the top that resemble antennae; and a lower, squared tablita-like shape. Both display a yellow line

across the shoulders that might indicate sexuality, specifically female sexuality. A closeup of the image of the headdress on the female figure also suggests the presence of a vertical staff supporting the headdress and a filled-in head.

Figure 35 shows a pair of anthropomorphs that seem to be gendered female, based upon images of nipples and breasts (Cole 1993: 210). They appear to be headless, but beneath them are full-bodied fugitive anthropomorphs in white pigment (shown in blue). As in the previous pair of anthropomorphs, these figures appear to be wearing double-leveled headdresses with a crescent form at the top and a squared form with square-shaped side tapers below the upper crescent, as shown in the closeup. Again, the combination of crescents and squared shapes suggest a relationship between butterfly images and tablita forms.

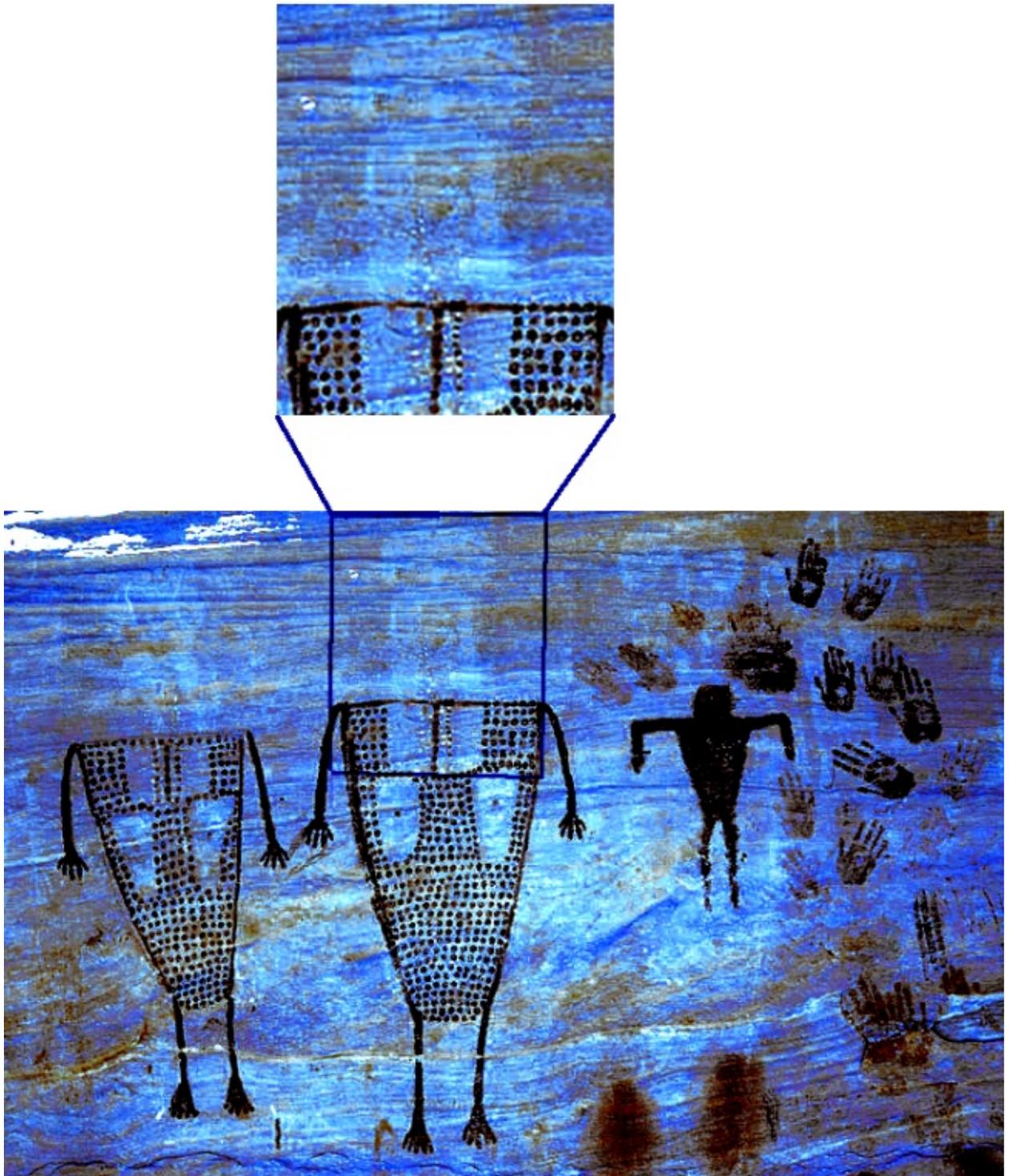


Figure 35. Grand Gulch. (Courtesy of Doak Heyser.) Images of female-gendered anthropomorphs placed over figures in white (blue) fugitive pigment wearing flattened, crescent headdresses. There is a squared tablita-like form beneath the crescent.

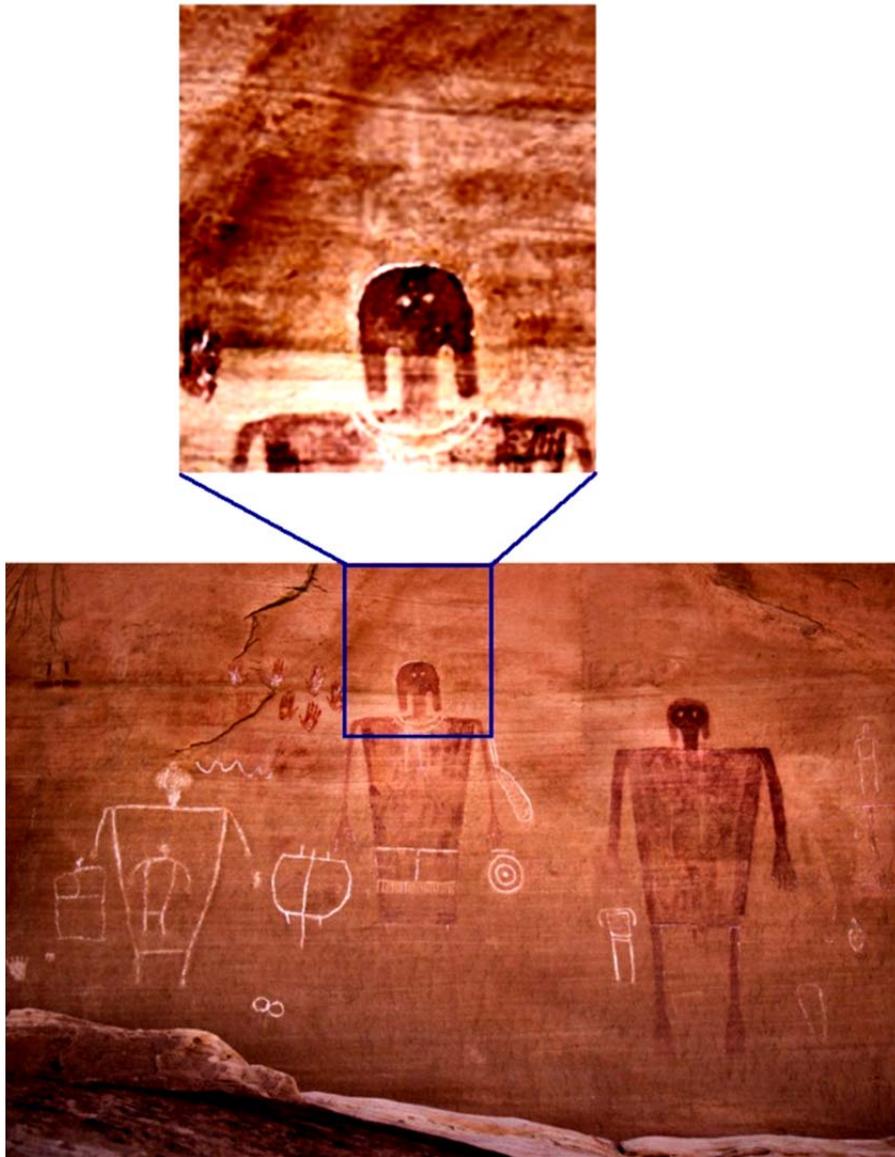


Figure 36. Grand Gulch (Courtesy of Ray Rassmussen, <http://raysweb.net/rockart/>. See also Cole 2009: 125 Figure 57b). The closeup depicts double crescents and a filled-in head at the top.

Figure 36 depicts the third pair of anthropomorphs from the Grand Gulch area. The female is indicated by her fringed apron, and the male is marked by his genitalia (Cole 2009: 189). Although the image of a white headdress is nearly eroded away, both a closeup and a drawing of the gendered female in Figure 37 indicate that she displays a double

crescent headdress, the upper crescent appearing either curved or with a slightly flat-topped and tapered shape. In addition, near her right hand (facing toward the viewer) there appears to be a butterfly-like image in white, with a vertical body, a head, rounded wings and four appendages that may be antennae.



Figure 37. Grand Gulch. (Courtesy of Sally J. Cole; drawing by Lisa Carraretto.) Detail of the female-gendered figure in 36 showing a menstrual apron. The crescents in this depiction are distinctly elongated and rounded compared to the photograph. Small antennae-like lines emerge from the top of the headdress.

Discussion

At least three prominent female figures in San Juan Basin rock art display highly distinctive crescent form headdresses. The crescent forms also resemble the images of squared tablita-like cloud terraces and/or flattened angular butterflies (or possibly dragonflies). One then might ask the question: Which of these referents, clouds or winged insects, do the headdresses portray?

I suggest that the answer is both. Just as a variety of images may stand for a single referent, such as a butterfly, various referents may converge toward a single image, such as a crescent form. Turner calls the convergence of many referents into a single symbolic form “condensation” (1967: 28, 44; Young 1988: 91-93, 105-6, 263 Footnote 42). Accordingly, crescents portrayed in headdresses worn by certain monumental female anthropomorphs may refer to tablita-like cloud terraces and images of flattened, angular butterflies (or dragonflies) simultaneously. Further, from the viewpoint of an outside observer a wide variety of significant associations may converge upon a single symbolic form. Even as images of yucca and agave plants appear to lend a certain amount of presence and power to some San Juan Style Anthropomorphs, so images of butterflies may connote beauty and appeal when associated with similar anthropomorphs, particularly those that are female gendered.

Along these lines one might compare the images of the three female figures discussed in this section with the image of the female anthropomorph in Figure 16. As previously mentioned, the headdress worn by the female in Figure 16, displaying as it does stacks of horizontal crescent forms with rounded ends and a filled-in head, differs significantly from that of her male counterpart. In fact, the overall shape of the headdress on the female anthropomorph depicted in Figure 16 is more similar to those worn by the three female figures in Figures 34, 35, 36 and 37. They all feature multileveled stacked crescent forms and a vertical line above a filled-in head. They differ among themselves primarily in that the headdress in Figure 16 contains four levels of crescents, not two, and that one of the crescent forms among the other three figures (Figure 35) is somewhat more flattened or squared.

Among the gendered anthropomorphs examined closely in this section, then, the images of headdresses of females appear for the most part quite similar, although there is a

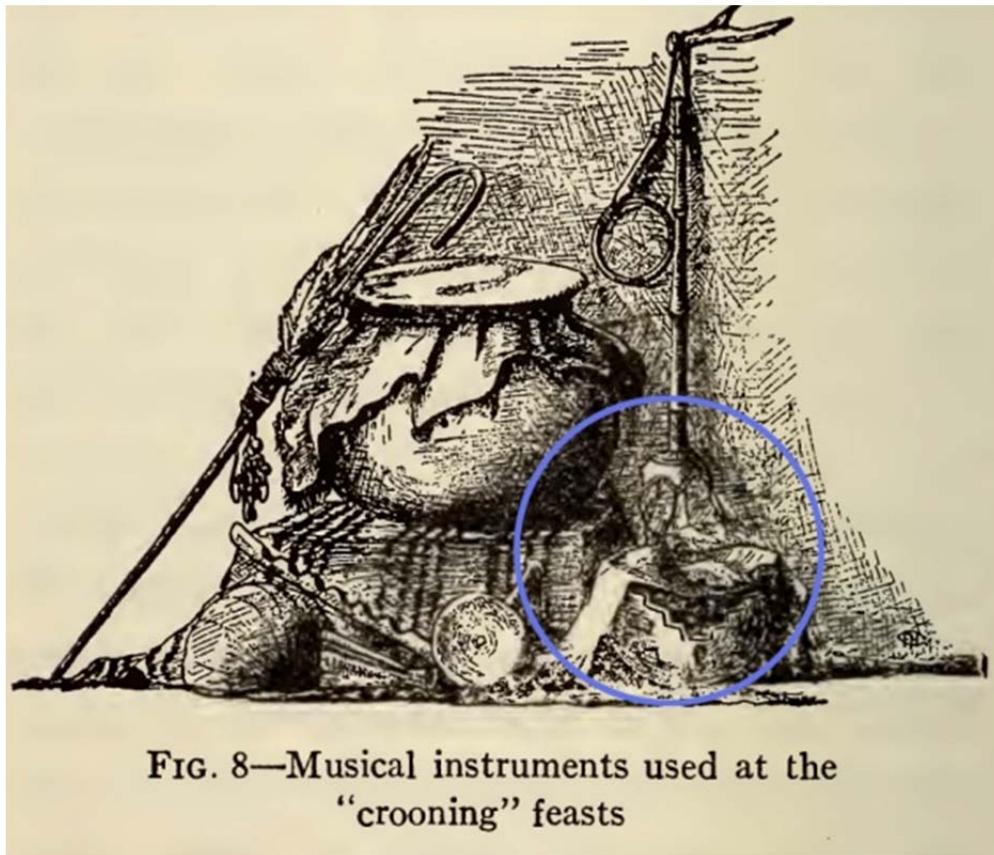


FIG. 8—Musical instruments used at the
“crooning” feasts

Figure 38. Cushing 1920:386 Figure 8.

An assemblage of musical instruments at Zuni.

Note the “bell” of the flute and its position above the stepped medicine bowl.

certain amount of variety between them. This degree of similarity suggests that they generally refer to a dominant image, one that is associated with the female gender (see Turner’s discussion of dominant symbols; 1967: 20; 28; 30-31; 43-44). From the standpoint of an outside observer, such multiple and varied associations as the impressive dimensions associated with yucca and agave-like plants, the appealing beauty of butterflies, and the life-giving productivity of rainclouds may converge into an image that unifies them all. This image is that of a stacked, multiple crescent-form headdress arising from the head of monumental female anthropomorphs.

Whether they represent twins, sisters, cousins, clan members, or wives of their male

companions, these anthropomorphs appear to convey a wide range of connotations that include female presence, attractiveness and power.¹⁴ In their portrayal of these outstanding images in rock art, the people of the upper San Juan River region may have expressed recognition of a fully realized female identity emergent in the delicate beauty of young maidens and the butterflies into which they had been incorporated.

Flute Players: Ceremony that Evokes Two Worlds

In Zuni myths Paiyatamu the Flute God generates, harnesses, and directs music for purposes of life, growth, and celebration. The primary instrument for doing so is the flute (in

Zuni, chululunane; Parsons 1922:176). The Zuni and Hopi played a flute that had a straight barrel with a “bell,” made from a cut gourd attached to the end. In Zuni kiva altars, gourd-end flutes were hung over stepped medicine bowls filled with life-giving water. From the viewpoint of the Flower World scenario, the serrated half-round with four points at the end of the flute represents not only a cut gourd but a metaphorical flower, most likely a squash blossom.

Similarly, according to Fewkes the stalk of a flower projecting from a Flower Mound in front of a Hopi kiva altar also represented a flute, and Flower Mounds themselves appeared in the altars of Hopi Flute Societies (cited in Smith 1952:230-231).

Myths of Flutes and Flute Players

The mythic flute player comes in two forms, associated with day and night, whistle and flute, this world and underground, Bitsitsi and Paiyatamu. As Bitsitsi, the Flute God lures the Corn Maidens by whistling loudly and continually as they dance in the public plaza. In some versions of the myth Bitsitsi drives them away by his insistence that their leader settle down and get married—to him. Stevenson describes the ceremony associated with this myth: “Bi ‘tsitsi, having come from the ki'witsinē, [ceremonial chamber] stands at the back of the mo'lawa [participants in the ceremony]; and blows a tiny whistle, which is secreted in his mouth” (1904:280 Figure 10).



Figure 39. 1904: Figure 10. Yucca whistle used in Bitsitsi ceremonies.

The name of Bitsitsi is linked with the whistle itself, the sound of which imitates the squeak of a rabbit (Benedict 1935: 23; Parsons 1916:394).

In a similar vein, Cushing describes the “daylight” disguise of Paiyatamu as a rowdy, youthful clown who visits the village incognito, speaks too loudly, and finally presides over a mound of garbage. In Zuni, the word tek’hohannanne refers both to “daylight” and to “life” (1896:439; Young 1988:96). This is the Flute God as the patron of clowns, entertainers who bring healthy doses of subversive humor to the solemn proceedings of ritual. He is also spontaneous, loud, insensitive, and blatantly sexual; in other words, still quite “raw.”

Alternatively, in his manifestation as Paiyatamu, the Flute God hosts a seasonal celebration underground in the domain of darkness and death. The boom of distant thunder sends the War Gods to investigate. The gathering features moisture, the seven diaphanous Dew maidens, the song of the flute, and in Zuni terminology, the sound tesese representing the pounding of the drum (D. Tedlock 1999: 163). Paiyatamu initially does not play, but directs the flutists and stops the music politely when visitors arrive and leave. The flute playing continues into the night, but certain guests pursue the Dew Maidens too ardently and they depart for the “Summerlands.” In other versions of the myth, the Corn Maidens, a group of women essential for the well-being of the village, also depart due to harassment. Paiyatamu goes on a quest to find them and finally entices them back with his flute music (Cushing 1896:432-447; 1920:16, 38-44).

This is the Flute God at his fullest, in the center of a multidimensional yet timeless underground scene in which music, ceremony, and enjoyment bring about the cycles of life and death. In his mature guise, he is a protector of the people, a facilitator of social interaction,

a model of deportment and a wonderful host. In other words, he is fully “cooked.”

Paiyatamu Kachina Imagery

The appearance of Paiyatamu varied widely in Zuni myth and ceremony. In his daylight role of Bitsitsi he was portrayed as a culture hero or anthropomorphic deity, rather than a kachina or god of origin. Physically he was described either quite small (indicating his capacity to grow), or was quite tall and handsome. As such, he was the most attractive member of the Clown Society, but still retained signs of his earthy, or rather watery, origins (Cushing 1896: 443; Stevenson 1904: 48 Footnote b; Wright 2004:60). In ceremonies his image was painted on the backs of Newekwe clowns as a simple human figure, with horns wrapped in corn tassels protruding from his head (Stevenson 1904: 435 Figure 30).¹⁵

In more formal ceremonial functions at Zuni pueblo, Paiyatamu was depicted as a significant kachina figure. His regalia included squash blossoms on his headdress and either a long trimmed beard or a wreath of evergreen branches around his neck. Interestingly, the Paiyatamu kachina did not carry a flute, but a rattle and a corn fetish. If he did have a flute, he temporarily borrowed it from another kachina as befit a master of ceremonies (Figurine of the God of Music [Payatamu], National Museum of Natural History, Number E229473-0; Slifer 2007:45 Figure 1.42, from Wright 1985:72; see also Wright 2004: Figures 22 and 59). His lack of a flute indicated he was fully enculturated into his mature role, no longer displaying the raw potency of youth.

While the Paiyatama kachina has become an increasingly rare sight, the flute players associated with him evoke his presence. When

Young showed photographs of petroglyphs to contemporary Zuni informants, most of them linked the image of the “humpbacked flute player” with Paiyatamu (Young, 1988:141). Apparently, to some of the Zuni the flute player image in rock art and the Paiyatamu of myths and ceremonies have become nearly the same. The two have converged in the sight and sound of the one thing they had in common—the flute.

Flute Players: Ceremony as Order and Expression

There are many images of yucca, butterflies, young women, and flute players in close proximity to each other on panels in the upper San Juan Basin. From an observer’s point of view, the panels appear to be scenarios, that is, visual compositions that imply activity or performance. The images are arranged around a central figure that seems to provide both focus and coherence to the scene. Because the scenarios may contain yucca or agave plants, butterflies and flute players, the panels also accrue enhanced significance through their association with the Flower World complex of images.

In some panels the centralizing image might be that of yucca or agave plants with flute players and mountain sheep arranged along both sides. In John’s Canyon (Figure 40) the plants appear to be sonotropic, as if bending to the sound of the flute. Note the small anthropomorphic figure at the top of one of the plants. Perhaps the figure signifies the presence and prosperity accrued to humans by the plants, or the integration of yucca and/or agave into the physical and spiritual life of human beings. The associations in this scenario seem to evoke plenty, movement and sensory abundance, arranged in a harmonious sequence.

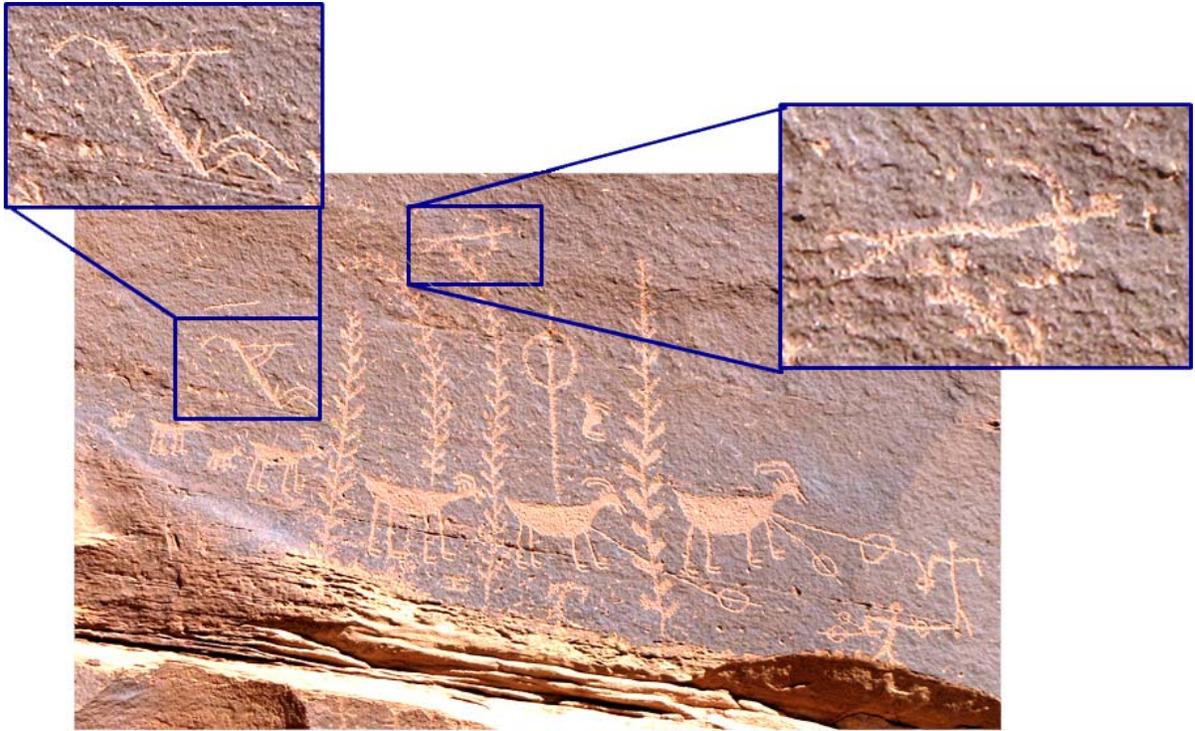


Figure 40. Johns Canyon.
Images of agave plants flanked by a flute player, anthropomorphs and sheep.

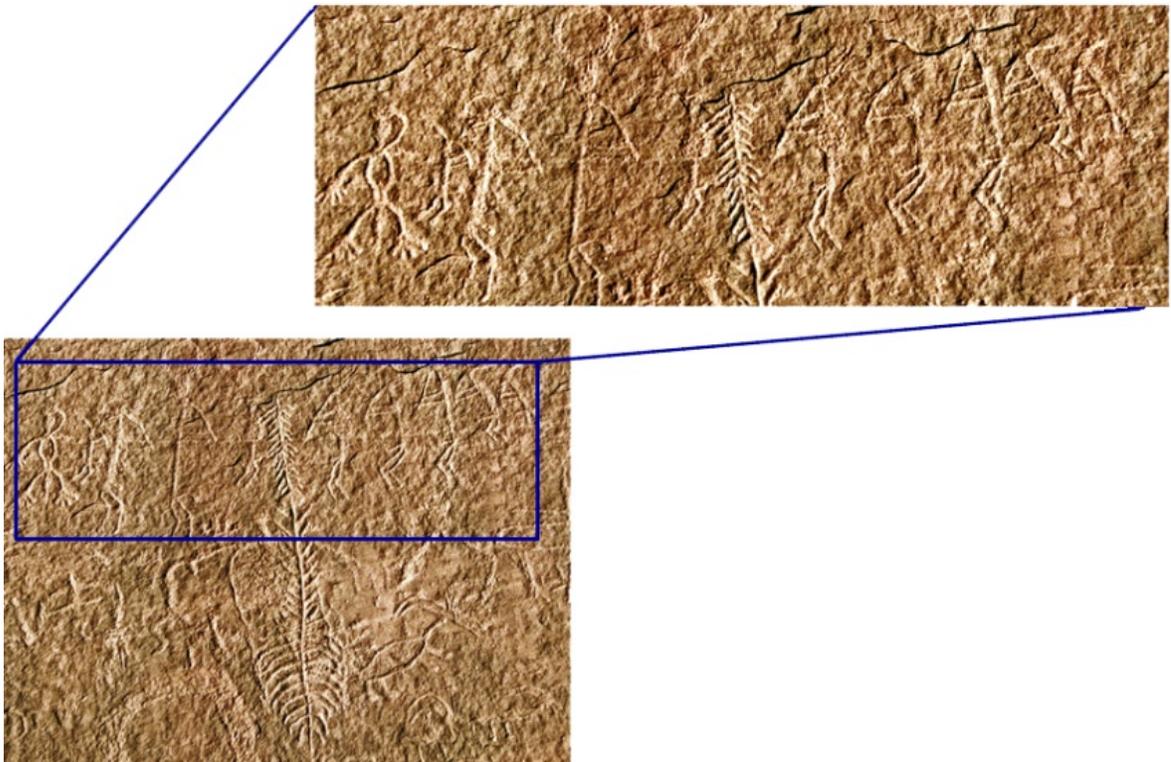


Figure 41. Tank Mesa. This panel is located on a mesa west of Bluff, Utah.

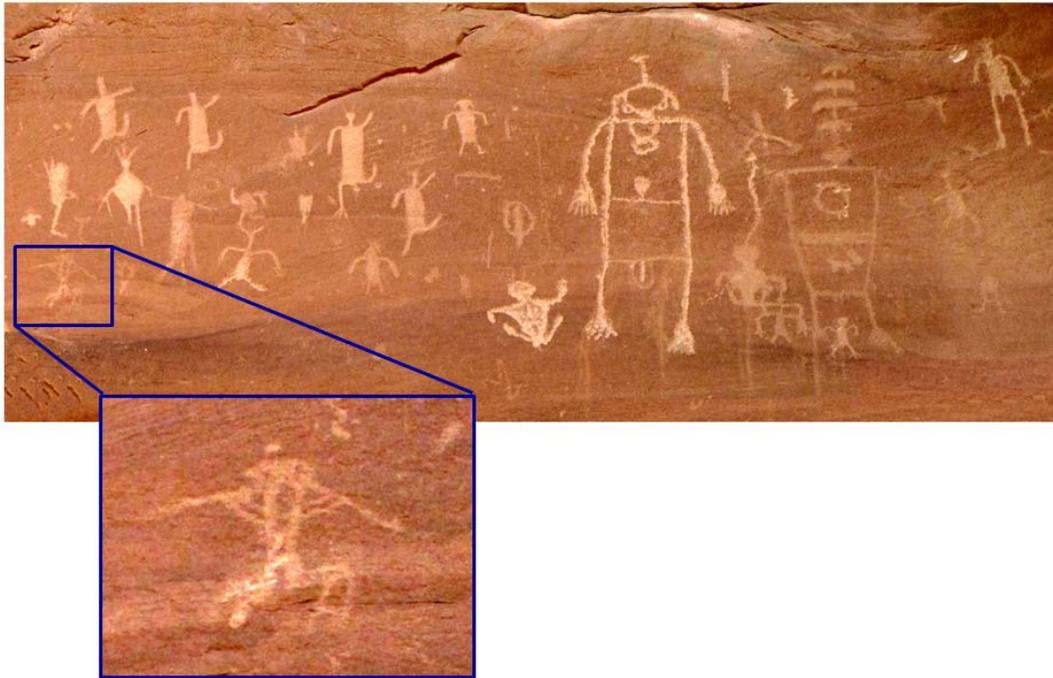


Figure 42. Sand Island. Flute players are shown on the far left corner of the panel.

At the Tank Mesa site, images of multiple flute players are oriented left and right facing a towering stalk, as if organized in a concert for the plant itself. The juxtaposition of two regimented rows of flute players with the stately presence of yucca or agave suggests organization and collective coordination. This panel makes evident the need for the people to arrange and regulate powerful generative and expressive forces, both human and nonhuman.

Sometimes, however, the centralizing figure is not a yucca or agave stalk but an anthropomorph or a pair of anthropomorphs. On one panel at Sand Island, the entire group of images may be seen as a ceremonial scene with two monumental anthropomorphs as the central focus. As in Figures 23 and 24, females in hocker positions sit off to the side. Oriented toward the central figures are smaller figures, male and female, with their arms and legs thrust into the air as if dancing. Two tiny flute players, playing back to back, provide the music. For flute players, this posture requires coordination, timing, and attentiveness to one's partner in performance—all traits of a spontaneous, yet civilized social world.

Finally, perhaps the most impressive single panel possibly portraying a ceremony is the Wolfman Panel in Comb Wash. The centralizing anthropomorphic figure is monumental but appears fully human, with realistically-modeled dimensions and musculature. His headdress reproduces the shape of a nearby butterfly hovering near his left arm (facing toward the viewer). The twin butterflies suggest a transit between two worlds, or perhaps they signal the images of fugitive female anthropomorphs to the right of the main anthropomorphic figure. A yucca or agave plant in full bloom stands to one side, possibly rooted in a serving vessel or water bowl signifying feasting, purification, and domestication. Nearby, a flute player that looks remarkably like a cicada provides a little background music. Finally a pair of elaborate staffs grounded in the earth but reaching toward the sky echo the authority and status of the centralizing figure. Celebration is implied while order is maintained in this realistic yet iconic scenario.



Figure 43. The Wolfman Panel. The central anthropomorphic figure is located to one side in a partial panorama of this extensive site.

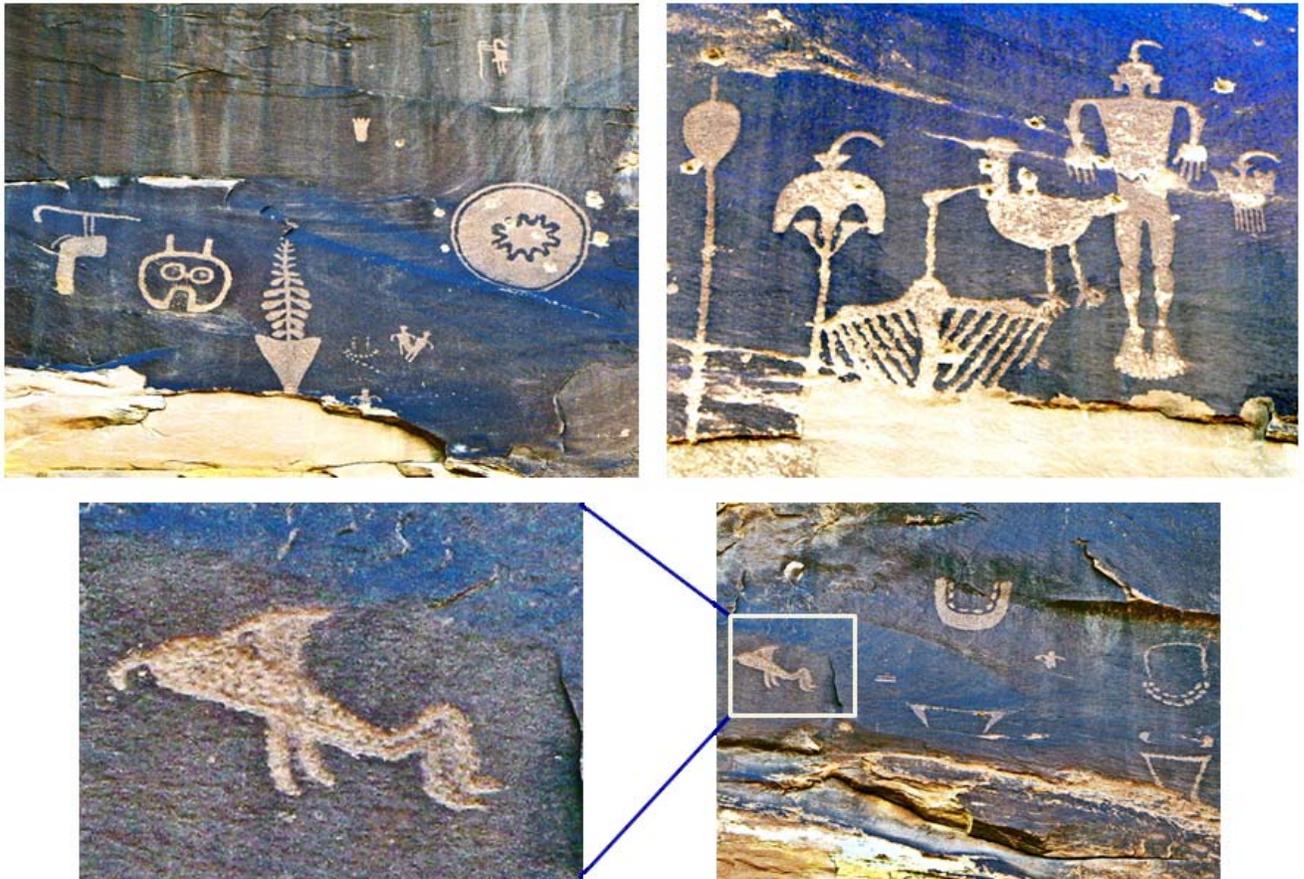


Figure 44. Details of the Wolfman Panel. This part of the panel includes such images as a yucca or agave plant, a male gendered anthropomorph with a butterfly-like headpiece and accompanying butterfly, crescent-shaped staffs, fugitive female images, and a flute player.

Discussion

Much has been made in this paper about Flower World imagery, Paiyatamu the Flute God, and Basketmaker rock art. Therefore the existence of rock art scenarios inevitably leads to three final questions: Do they represent the eternally orderly yet diverse Flower World complex of images? Do they depict the underground and aboveground levels of this complex? And finally, who or what represents the interplay of coordination and activity around which the scenarios are arranged?

Unfortunately, it may not be possible to answer these questions directly. For example, unlike the well-known images of yucca and/or agave plants and butterflies, images of monumental Basketmaker II Anthropomorphs are arbitrary and specialized. Rock art research has not yet determined the social or cosmological status of these anthropomorphs, much less whether they might represent prototypes of Zuni or Hopi kachinas. Similarly, Puebloan traditions as we have received them do not explain all of the highly varied and idiosyncratic forms of San Juan Style Anthropomorphic headdresses. This paper has suggested many social, ceremonial, and cosmological links between the domains of Zuni culture and San Juan rock art. None of those links, though, are supported thoroughly and completely enough to establish that the two domains describe the same anthropomorphic figures, much less the same overall scenarios. Nor can they be, given the rarity of physical evidence for a continuous cultural tradition and our own marginal position as outside observers of that tradition.

Still, one might make tenuous comparisons between depictions of the Flower World, Zuni origin myths, and the imagery of the San Juan rock art that evoke significant associations. More specifically, panels in which a central image or images appear to focus and organize a scenario filled with the imagery of the Flower World resonate with myths and ceremonies portraying a figure like Paiyatamu presiding

over a ceremonial occasion. At times, as in the Wolfman Panel, the centralizing image organizes a scene that appears formal, repetitive, and even somewhat static. The scenario implies a timelessness and permanence associated with the eternality of the underworld and the destination of the dead. At other times centralizing images as in the Sand Island Panel seem to preside over movement, expression, and even play. These scenarios appear to represent the activity and vitality necessary for the continuity of life. Such ordered yet energetic compositions, whether Basketmaker or Puebloan in origin, may be substantively “the same thing” (Young 1988:93), that is, they all may portray a central figure or figures arranging and organizing the performance of some kind of ceremony.

Ritual activity performed in the present in order to recreate an eternal reality implies the presence of ceremony (Kitchell 2007: 831; Turner 1967:54). Likewise, rock art scenarios presided over by centralizing figures seem to depict activity in the here and now while they themselves remain unchanged. Thus the relationship between the permanence of rock art scenarios and their portrayal of coordinated activity appear to evoke the dual levels of the Flower World. One might speculate that rock art depicting ceremonial scenarios confirmed the identity of the San Juan Basketmaker people through sensory experience, channeled their energies into productive and fulfilling activities, and provided strategies for living in both the practical and the symbolic worlds. As Victor Turner concisely states, “symbols instigate social action” (1967: 36; 44; Mills 2007:211).

I do not wish to imply that every scenario that seems to portray a ceremony expresses the same relationship between permanence and activity. In particular, the scenes described in this paper refer to a wide range of such pairings as order and expression, timelessness and the present moment, the eternal world and the earthly world. These pairs of relationships, not

necessarily their expression in any one display, may be the most significant associations shared among San Juan Basin rock art scenarios, Puebloan origin myths, and the Flower World complex. Indeed, it is the spectacle of the imagery and its implication for ceremonial performance, rather than reference to any particular meaning, that recreates the cosmic worldview of the people who created the rock art.

CONCLUSION

This paper suggests that insights into the social organization and spiritual world view of the Basketmaker and Puebloan peoples may be surmised through the examination of the context and signification of the Flower World complex of imagery, as expressed in myths, ceremonies, and the observation of rock art. In particular, the San Juan Basketmaker regional variation of the Flower World image complex might have functioned in at least two ways: first, to maintain group identity; and second, to reinforce a commonly shared world view.

First, the people of the upper San Juan River region may have used elements of the Flower World image complex to assert their identity in the midst of increasing social diversity. With reference to the sheer variety of headdresses on San Juan Anthropomorphs, Robins and Hays-Gilpin write "The people for whom the Butler Wash Site was a socially and ritually significant location may have been better 'integrated' with people from Grand Gulch and Canyon de Chelly than either the Grand Gulch and Canyon de Chelly groups were with each other" (2000:235; Figure 12.3 shows the range of headdress forms). I would also add that the groups of people associated with the area surrounding the upper San Juan Basin may have attempted to avoid assimilation or dispersion into more distant groups by affirming their cohesion and continuity through shared public imagery (Turner 1967: 39). Iconic images of yucca-like plants, butterflies and flute players juxtaposed with and upon

monumental anthropomorphic figures may have provided relatively clear signals that observers could see, recognize, and respect.

Similarly, images of monumental female gendered anthropomorphs in the San Juan Basketmaker II Style of rock art displaying towering headdresses may have reflected a distinctly important presence for women in late Basketmaker II society and culture. Yet the period of time during which these images were being inscribed eventually ended with the advent of female images with hair whorls and less imposing postures (Hays-Gilpin 2004:137; Robins and Hays-Gilpin 2000: 240-241; Olsen 1985: 94, Figures 64-68). More nuanced examinations of the rock art, as well as more concrete substantiation of Basketmaker II gender relations are necessary before we can evaluate how monumental female-gendered images reflected or departed from the beliefs and activities of the culture in which they were embedded. For the present, scholarly attention paid to these monumental female-gendered anthropomorphs fuels conjecture about social and gender relationships during a unique period in the history of the upper San Juan Basin Basketmaker II peoples.

Second, viewing San Juan Basin rock art through the lens of the Flower World complex suggests that ceremonial scenarios reinforced shared notions of the cosmic scene and the role of plants, animals, and human beings within that scene. In general, shared ceremonial experiences involving the senses, emotions and bodily actions are very powerful in generating and perpetuating a collective world view (Hegmon 1989:6; Turner 1967: 30; 39; 44). We know that Puebloan traditions such as those of the Zuni incorporate storytelling, song, and performance for the purposes of maintaining their culture and the world in which they live (Hill 1992: 122-123; D.Tedlock 1999: xxi-xliv; Olsen 1985: 36). For Basketmaker peoples, looking at or interacting with images in rock art might have elicited a heightened awareness, if

not a kind of awe, concerning their place in the eternal pageant of life (Turner 1967: 44).¹⁶

Moreover, this attempt to understand the people of the upper San Juan Basin region through their rock art suggests that the world view sustaining the imagery of the Flower World complex may be even more important than heretofore recognized. Central to the shared experience of Anasazi and Puebloan people was a basic belief in a spiritual domain that achieved eternal presence by transcending time and space. Since the image complex of the Flower World reproduced both the living present and the timelessness of eternity, it may have been particularly well suited to the spiritual requirements of ceremonies celebrating the upper and lower worlds. Indeed, the image complex of the Flower World might have been not only a “part ideology” but a primary expression of ancient and contemporary Southwestern Native American cosmology. In this sense, the Flower World may be not only significant but fundamental to our understanding of ancient and contemporary Native Americans’ spiritual experience. As Simon Ortiz, an Acoma artist explained his perspective on the relationship between visual art, ceremony, community and cosmos:

Native American art, with its visual representations, makes certain symbols apparent, to make people more aware of their place in life. Art is part of the whole dynamic life of people . . . being shared by people doing and making it. It’s almost a musical event! Art for the Indians is a shared sense of culture and social groups; it reminds people of their responsibilities toward the earth and each other. (As quoted in Olsen 1984:36)

To conclude, a study of rock art in the distinctive locale of the San Juan River Basin as seen through Puebloan, particularly Zuni, mythology and ceremonial context adds variation and significance to the Flower World complex of images. Seen in this light, we might be able to discover new ways of understanding the Basketmaker II peoples of the region and their view of their place in the cosmos. We also may discover that the cultures that produced these images transmitted to us as outside observers glimpses of what the people deemed important--their enthusiasms, their memories, and their shared experiences. If we look carefully and listen hard we can almost sense them making meaning; that is, pounding yucca, feasting on agave, incorporating butterflies, and fluting ceremony into life.

NOTES

To simplify the transcription of Zuni and Hopi words all accents and diacritical marks have been removed unless quoted directly and immediately from a reliable source. Among the many possible spellings of Paiyatamu’s name I have chosen the version used by Elsie Clewes Parsons (1920).

1. Some recent research pushes Basketmaker II sites even further into the past. Occasional anomalies such as habitations in the Cedar Mesa place the beginning of Basketmaker culture as early as 200 A.D. (Matson 1994: 232). Further, a White Dog Phase starting approximately 2000 B.C. and ending approximately 100 A.D. has been proposed, although some researchers question the earlier date (Cordell 1997; 144, 145; Robins and Hays-Gilpin 2000: 232; Smiley 2002: 39, 50; for a skeptical view of the White Dog Phase see Matson 2006:156-157).

2. Cole (1994:305-307; 1993; 203) finds the roots of Anasazi imagery in historical Puebloan kachina material culture. Hays-Gilpin and Hill also assert a continuity between ancient Anasazi and historical Puebloan visual imagery

(1999: 2-3; 14-15). With reference to the Zuni culture region, Schaafsma and Young see similarities between Pueblo I rock art and the rock art of the Zuni that continue into later Pueblo periods (2007:253-255; 267-268). They note, however, that full integration of Pueblo period imagery into Zuni cultural materials occurred relatively late, that is, after 1200 A.D.

From a more critical viewpoint, Farmer expresses skepticism that specific artistic styles and forms transcend major cultural discontinuities for periods extending longer than a millennium . He admits, though, that iconography reflecting commonly-held meanings within the Anasazi-Puebloan cultural domain can and does endure over time (1997:407-409). Young, in her study eliciting Zuni informants' explanations of local rock art also recognizes changes occurring since the Anasazi period that may have affected contemporary peoples' understandings. "Still, despite such changes, the form, meaning, and function of Zuni verbal and visual arts give evidence of striking continuities over that period, and the core of Zuni social organization and religious activity seems to have remained fundamentally constant" (1988:41).

3. The concepts used in this paper are grounded in Victor Turner's analysis of the culture of the Ndembu people located in Northwestern Zambia (1967). According to Turner, understanding a culture entails three informative contexts: 1) the form, characteristics and relationships of the symbols used by members of the culture; 2) interpretations of the symbols provided by members of the culture; and 3) significant contexts for the symbols observed by those outside of the culture (1967:20-27; for a theoretical framework based in rock art research that includes both formal and contextual components, see Bernardini 2005: 94; and Tacon and Chippindale 1998: 6-8).

Although Turner argues that outside observation is "real" and more "objective" than

the reports of cultural informants (1967:27; 273), I disagree. Yet I do not assert in turn that the only legitimate interpretations come from informants. Rather, I suggest that all sources of information are limited, each in their own ways, and no one source or type of source provides a completely accurate and comprehensive account of a culture's set of meanings. Like Joan Gero, I propose that cultures are spoken by a multitude of voices (2007: 319, 323). This "multivocality" is particularly relevant when assessing the significance of symbols within their cultural contexts (Turner 1967: 50). For example, the Flower World image complex as a "part ideology" invites the attribution of multiple meanings to the symbols that make up the complex (Hays-Gilpin and Hill 1999: 2-4; 16; Hill 1992; 130). Similarly, as Nancy H. Olsen reports, the Hopi and Zuni peoples themselves do not attach a single symbolic meaning to any particular element of rock art, and given the context several meanings can be attached to the same element (1985: 18).

For purposes of analysis I have adapted four of Turner's more specific concepts: (1) the condensation of symbols, which I have termed "convergence" (1967: 27-30); (2) disparate significata, which I have identified as "significant associations," or more broadly "significance" (1967:30); (3) dominant symbols, which I have specified as "icons" or "iconic images" that subsume less dominant images or associations (1967; 28; 31-33; 38-39; 54-55; 265); and (4) symbolic action, particularly as represented in the performance of ceremony (1967: 22, 24; 95).

4. The accepted botanical relationship between yuccas and agaves has changed rapidly over the last decade with the use of DNA sequencing and the adoption of cladistic classification systems. Briefly, before the mid-1990s botanists placed the genera of yucca and agave under two different taxonomic families (Bogler and Simpson 1995: 191; Verhoek and Hess 2002; 413). In 2009 they placed yucca

and agave genera not only under the same family but within the same subfamily. The 2009 reclassification has been adopted by the USDA and currently is in use (Bremer, Bremer et.al. 2009: 109–110; USDA Germplasm Resources Information Network 2013: multiple entries).

5. Stevenson first thought that Zuni emergence myths, like those of the Hopi and Navajo, included a hollow reed or stalk coming out of the earth but later changed the place of emergence to a lake or spring (1904:26, Footnote a). Among the Hopi, Ekkehart Malotki's informants noted that while playing their flutes the Flute Clan would place a cicada at the top of the kiva ladder, a conventional symbol of emergence from the earth (2000: 68). In the Navajo emergence myth a sunflower stalk made into a flute with four holes played a prominent role (Stephen 1930: 90-97). One Hopi story, though, linked yucca plants to a source of water as well as a distinctive sound. H.R.Voth reported a tale in which a man associated with the Flute clan, whose wife was drowned and becomes a skeleton, witnessed her return in full wedding dress after hearing the sound of "somebody pound[ing] yucca roots in the water" (1905:69-71).

Agave also played a significant role in Hopi emergence myths. According to Voth, among the first Hopi clans to ascend from the underworld were the Winter Solstice (Soyál), the Flute (Lán), the Horn (Ál), the Agave (Kwán) the Singer (Táo) and the Initiation (Wüwüchim) clans (1905:19). Likewise, Parsons stated that soon after the emergence several men's societies were formed at Hopi, among them the Wöwöchim or initiation society, the Singers (tataukya), the Yucca or Agave (kwan) and the Horn (ahl) (1923:156,158-159).

6. Perhaps these shields are replicated in the "basket plaques" with butterfly patterns woven into them by the murderous Yellow Women in Zuni myth, and also in the "basket trays" with

butterfly patterns carried by Hopi women in the Lā'-lā-kōn-ta dance (D. Tedlock 1999: 128,154; Fewkes and Owens 1892: 126-129 and Figure 3).

7. Parsons presents another Zuni creation myth. Two old men and an old woman, part of the Rain Society (Shiwannakwe) are instructed by the Twin War gods to take skin rubbings, make a little ball, cover it with a blanket, and sing over it. A lively, laughing little boy emerged they called Paiyatamu, the Sun Youth, or Bitsitsi, the first of the Zuni clown society or Newekwe (1917:229-30).

8. Some speculation exists concerning how logos or brand-like icons may have identified existing social structures in a regional Basketmaker II context. Based on information from native peoples now living in Nevada and northern Utah, Steven Simms has suggested that foraging groups are variously comprised of different levels of social organization (e.g. families, extended households, and bands). Yet they may claim descent from a common ancestry, and may adopt a "home district" associated with a reliable food source where they come together periodically to harvest and interact. Such groups, specifically those in the Great Basin/Colorado Plateau region, could have become known by identifiers associated with the food source, such as the "Cattail-Eaters" or the "Pine-Nut-Eaters" (2008: 49-50, 52). One might hazard a guess that some peoples inhabiting the upper San Juan during Basketmaker II times represented their ancestors in rock art images and emblazoned them with iconic images to identify both themselves and their most frequented territories.

9. It is true that most individual images in rock art have been interpreted by Hopi, not Zuni informants. Both cultures, however, might attribute the significance and function of important elements to the same structured set of meanings, or codes. According to Nancy Olsen:

When compared with those at Hopi, graphic elements recorded at Zuni by Stevenson (1905), Cushing (1979, 1920), and Roberts (1932), display use of identical signs by the two pueblo groups. Motifs affiliated with particular clans (e.g. dragonfly, toad, bird or tadpole) and ceremonial elements drawn on kachina masks and altars (e.g., mountain lion, snake, sun or lightning) are identically made at Hopi and Zuni. Not only do the two cultures share graphic elements, but also similar contexts for use, suggesting that there is a common coding system which is woven into the fabric of other well documented social, political and economic organizational systems (1985: 12).

10. Illustrations of butterfly images in the rock art literature suggest that some forms may have been associated with different geographical areas or culture groups. Angular or squared images of butterflies appear to be associated with the Hopi of northern Arizona (Bernardini 2007: Figure 3.9f; Colton and Colton 1931:34; Fewkes 1910 Figure 61; Mallery 1894: 748 Figure 1261). In addition to butterflies, Hopi informants referenced glyphs made up of two juxtaposed triangles to the female human body, and triangle glyphs decorated both Zuni and Hopi women's ceremonial regalia well into the twentieth century ((Mallery 1894:705 Figure 1165; Roedinger 1941: Plate 22). In contrast, rounded, two- or four-winged forms appear to be associated with central Arizona, specifically with the Homolovi of Chavez Pass and the Gila region of the Hohokam in the Picacho Mountains (Bernardini 2005; 111; Wallace and Holmlund 1986:225).

11. Fewkes himself came to the conclusion that certain images could not be identified definitively with one or another referent by someone outside of a given culture. He

repeatedly mentioned that images of butterflies, birds and even rainclouds in Sikyatki pottery designs were indistinguishable to him because they were so conventionalized (1898: 137,142,144). Later he wrote that in general it was difficult to distinguish with certainty between any two Hopi images of birds and butterflies, or butterflies and moths (1910: 583-584). Unfortunately he attributed this convergence of images to the Hopis' naïve awe of the "mysterious" function of flight shared by these creatures of the air. Nonetheless, he succeeded in identifying what Turner would term symbolic convergence as a process of the conventionalization of meaning (1967: 29-30; 43-44; 51; 54).

This is not to imply that conventional meanings are frozen in time. Changes in the significance of images within a given group continue as long as the group lasts. Such changes appear to have been documented by the Tutuveni Recording project sponsored by the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office. A clan symbol identified by Colton and Colton's Hopi informant as belonging to the Red Ant Clan has been recategorized by contemporary Hopi participants as a Butterfly Clan symbol, and recorded as such (1931: 35; Bernardini 2007: 37). In addition, an image of a square bisected by a vertical line and wearing antennae which was unidentified by Colton and Colton's informant has been added to the suite of Butterfly Clan images (1931: 35; Bernardini 2007: Figure 3.9). Furthermore, although Fewkes identified certain images as dragonflies based upon Hopi information, similar images at Tutuveni have now been labeled under the clan title "Extinct-24" (Fewkes 1910: Figure 61; Bernardini 2007: Figure 3.11). This "lumping and splitting" process has added to the officially recognized suite of butterfly images and emptied the categories of red ant and dragonfly images. More importantly, clans now associated with images that have been aggregated with or eliminated from previously established categories presumably never existed or have disappeared, with implications

not only for descendants of the clans but Hopi claims to territory and migration routes.

12. Early archaeologists noted the formal convergence of hair whorls, butterflies, and cloud images on Hopi kiva murals and pottery. In 1890 Alexander M. Stephen discussed the transformation of images of butterfly hair whorls into cloud crescents on a pot from Black Mesa dated from 875 to 1130 A.D. He described “the simple design of the na-somp [hair whorl] to which has been added a line of dots along its face, converting it into the emblem of a hail-cloud.” The illustration that accompanies this quotation shows two crescent forms juxtaposed face to face, creating a double-whorled pattern with very short lines descending from each crescent. The visual effect is oddly reminiscent of widely gaping lips with two rows of teeth inside (Patterson 1994: 32).

Convergence also seems to have occurred among images on Hopi tabletas and altar panels. In 1892, Fewkes noted that “Nā'tci is a general name given to a tablet or terraced figure. A good example of this form of nā'tci representing rain clouds . . . is found on a tile called the ho-ko'-na-mā-nā, ‘butterfly virgin,’ introduced in the snake ceremonials” (Fewkes 1892: 19). (It is difficult to tell from this quotation whether Fewkes intended to attribute the term “butterfly virgin” to the tile itself or to images on tiles placed near altars in the Muiyingwu ceremonial house that hosted the Butterfly Clan.) Later, in 1910, Fewkes published sketches he made from slabs taken from Awatovi kiva murals. He described the slabs as follows: “On one side were painted in color, still visible, pictures of rain clouds, and on the opposite, insects identified by the Hopi as butterflies. . . .” (586). In his sketch of the panel, horizontal stepped cloud formations with tapers on each end are associated with the angular image of a butterfly as well as that of a dragonfly (see Figure 19 in this paper).

13. Identifying gender among figures in Hopi myth is not easy. Often origin gods have a silent female twin, or are themselves of indeterminate gender. Alexander M. Stephen advised Fewkes that “There is no male deity without a corresponding female counterpart, but there are one or two which would seem to indicate that the two were united in one being.” Specifically, in some myths Muiyingwu, a Hopi counterpart to Paiyatamu, had a twin sister Yahoya who played no discernable role either in mythology or in kachina ceremony (Fewkes 1892: 153 Footnote 1; 155; Voth 1905:8). Further, some myths referred to Poseyemu, the Tewan equivalent of Paiyatamu, as both female and male (Parmentier 1979: 611; Parsons 1926: 9-11; 108; 115; see also Hays-Gilpin and Hill 1999: 114 for an example of dual-gendered Hopi iconography as identified by a Zuni informant). It is not unreasonable to suggest that many female figures and traits in Puebloan origin myths disappeared over time and that gender-ambiguous gods were masculinized.

Gender identification in kachina ceremony may be even more difficult. In the early twentieth century figures of either gender wore tabletas. Fewkes, for example, described in detail the “going home” ceremony of the Hopi kachinas featuring the figure of Hemis. In this ceremony men dressed as women played the parts of female Hemis kachinas. Only the man portraying the male Hemis kachina wore an elaborate tableta, while female Hemis kachinas did not wear comparable headgear. Significantly, the tabletas of male kachinas displayed cloud and butterfly symbols (1892: 41). Nevertheless, the “going home” ceremony was neither the only nor the most prominent of rituals featuring butterfly-related headdresses. Fewkes himself noted that among Rio Grande pueblos, tabletas were more abundant and widely employed in female-gendered butterfly dances than in any other ceremony (1910: 589).

14. The concrete yet ambiguous visual images of Basketmaker II rock art do not easily yield articulate descriptions of gender relations among the people who made the art. As suggested above, if certain social relations are complex or in flux it may be hard to deduce them from symbols pecked or painted upon stone (see Turner for a discussion of how dominant symbols can encompass and submerge social discrepancies by bringing together disparate significations into one unifying representation; 1967: 43-44). If that symbol is part of an established structure, for example that of “official” architecture, uncovering social discrepancies may be harder yet (see Hegmon 1989: 8 for a discussion of how the articulate medium of language and the concrete medium of architecture reflect social integration in quite different ways). Consequently, I do not attempt in this paper to identify a specific gendered social structure underlying the imagery in the rock art depicting monumental San Juan Basketmaker II female figures, nor do I suggest how those relationships may have been submerged or changed over time.

Still, two important proposals making a connection between these figures and contemporaneous gender relationships have emerged in the rock art literature. One, by William Hyder is that of relative social equality between genders based on couples cultivating small family farms, presumably based on the premise that women on such farms do the same agricultural chores as their male partners (1997: 32-41). The other, by Michael Robins and Kelley Hays-Gilpin describes a seasonally-migrant residence pattern that became more sedentary and agriculturally intensive throughout the relatively lengthy White Dog Phase of the Basketmaker II period. Presumably such a change encouraged the development of powerful matrilineal and kinship-based social networks. In response, by the early Basketmaker III period men established regionally-extended ceremonial groups accompanied by rock art appropriating

the female imagery of productivity and fecundity (2000: 231, 232, 234, 236, 239-240).

At a minimum, both proposals posit strong if not dominant social and economic roles for women during the time monumental female gendered anthropomorphs were carved into the rocks. The details of how these roles emerged, changed and possibly were appropriated, however, require more fine-grained evidence than what is available at this time (Gero and Scattolin 2002; 171).

15. Boas, in a myth from Keres-speaking Acoma, transcribes the description of a Bitsitsi-type figure as follows: “Summer wore a shirt of buckskin with squash flower ornaments and he wore shoes like moss and tied to them were parrot feathers and his face painting was red and mica, and flowers were tied on” (1928:33; see also Wright 2004: Figures 20, 22). Note the red face painting, and his shoes signifying wet vegetation. It is interesting to note that red paint on the face is a sign of one of the Zuni clown fraternities, and that wet shoes might indicate a recent emergence from the mossy lake of the Zuni emergence myth. The myth appears to contain material shared with eastern Pueblos as well, since both Hopi and Zuni social organization is based primarily on clan associations rather than such dual moieties as Summer and Winter (Plog 2008:145).

16. This is not to say that all the social effects of ceremonial performance are equally benign. Public ceremonies in which members of a community both observe and participate in reenactments of their own origins might have strengthened their adherence to the group for the benefit of certain members of that group. Put more bluntly, ceremonies may have organized and regulated collective activity to maintain existing hierarchies and stave off the kind of social tensions that might lead to structural change (Robins and Hays-Gilpin 2000; 246; Turner 1967: 38-40; 265). In addition, ceremony may have been a strategy for integrating smaller social units such as

bands or tribes into larger, more complex groups for purposes of assimilation and control (Hyder 2004: 96-97).

As mentioned above, a more detailed analysis of the rock art and in particular its social setting is required before the precise nature of its integrative or disintegrative functions can be determined. Turner had the advantage of observing the Ndembu people perform rituals that involved dominant symbols subsuming less dominant symbols and their associations. That is, he witnessed the people engaging in both conventional and divergent activities with respect to the accepted meanings of their symbol systems (1967: 28; 39; 46). Unfortunately, with respect to the Basketmaker II culture of the upper San Juan River, we cannot. We can, however, view rock art as a kind of symbolic action, and study both conforming as well as contrary emotions, associations and experiences it appears to incite.

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